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چاپ احسان-تهران چهارراه ولیعصرپلاک ۱۱۴۸

Կամսար Ավետիսյան

ՀԱՅՐԵՆԱԳԻՏԱԿԱՆ ԷՏՅՈՒԴՆԵՐ

ԱՂԹԱՄԱՐ[1]

«Սուրբ կղզի, սուրբ ծով, սուրբ երգ,
ամենասուրբ տեղիք, համով հոտով լիք»:

Գ. Վ. ՍՐՎԱՆՁՏՅԱՆ:

Նախքան Աղթամարի մասին խոսելը, ասենք Վանա լճի մասին, որտեղ գտնվում է Աղթամար կղզին:

Վասպուրականի հմայքը Վանա լիճն է իր ամբողջ ավազանով:

Վանա լիճը պատմական Հայաստանում կոչվել է ծով և հայտնի է եղել տարբեր անուններով: Այսպես, օրինակ, «Նաիրի Վերին ծով» (Նաիրի երկրի անունով), «Տոսպա ծով» (համանուն գավառի անունով), «Բզնունյաց ծով» (համանուն նախարարության անունով), «Ռշտունյաց ծով» (Ռշտունյաց տոհմի անունով), «Արծրունյաց ծով» (Արծրունիների տոհմի անունով), «Վասպուրականի ծով» (Վասպուրականի նահանգի անունով), «Արճեշի ծով» (Արճեշ քաղաքի անունով), «Ախլաթի ծով» (Ախլաթ կամ Խլաթ քաղաքի անունով), «Աղթամարի կամ Ախթամարի ծով» (Աղթամար կղզու անունով):

Լիճը հարավից եզերված է Կորդվաց լեռներով, որոնց ամենագեղեցիկ գագաթներից է Արտոսը, արևելքում բարձրանում է Վասպուրականի նահապետ երկգագաթ Վարազը, հյուսիսային մասում վեր է խոյանում հայոց երկրորդ Մասիսը՝ Սիփանը, որից այն կողմ ձգվում են Ալադաղի կամ Ծաղկանց

[1] *Ավետիսյան Կ.Մ., Հայրենագիտական էտյուդներ: «Սովետական գրող» հրատարակչություն, Երևան, 1979, գլուխ 17:*

լեռները, արևմուտքում է գտնվում Նեմրութ և պատմական Գռգուռը: Լճի մակերեսը երեք հազար յոթ հարյուր քառակուսի կիլոմետր է: Բանձրությունը ծովի մակարդակից 1720 մետր է: Սևանից մեծ է ավելի քան, երկոս ու կես անգամ, բայց Սևանից ցածր է 194 մետրով (մինչև Սևանի իջեցումը):

Վասպուրականի կլիման մեղմ է՝ շնորհիվ Վանա լճի

բարերար ազդեցության և շրջանի ռելիեֆի կազմության: Այդտեղ աճում են խաղող (Արճեշում), խնձոր, ընկույզ (Արտամետում): Շատ են հատապտուղները: Մինչև հայաթափ լինելը լճի ավազանում և հատկապես Վան քաղաքում բնակչության մեծամասնությունը հայեր էին:

Վանա լճում են գտնվում թվով չորս կղզի՝ Աղթամար, Լիմ, Կտուց և Առտեր: Հայ ժողովրդի պատմության մեջ ավելի նշանավոր դեր խաղաց Աղթամարը, որը գտնվում է լճի հարավ-արևմուտքում, ցամաքից մոտ չորս կիլոմետր հեռու, Ավանց գյուղի դիմաց:

Վանա լիճը, Վասպուրականի մարզը, Վան քաղաքը, ինչպես նաև Աղթամար կղզին առանձնահատուկ տեղ ունեն հայ ժողովրդի պատմության մեջ:

Աղթամար կղզին Գագիկ Արծրունու օրոք (X դար) հասել էր իր ծաղկման գագաթնակետին: Կղզում կառուցված Գագիկ Արծրունու պալատը ս. Խաչ տաճարը դարձան կղզու շինարարության պսակը: Այդ երկուսից կանգուն է միայն սուրբ Խաչ տաճարը, որը հայ ժողովրդի նյութական կուլտուրայի աննման հուշարձանն է: Եթե Անին ամբողջապես վերցրած Բագրատունյաց հարստության փառքի վկան է, ապա Աղթամարը, հատկապես նրա ս. Խաչ տաճարը՝ Արծրունյաց հարստության ու փառքի լուռ վկան:

Աղթամար անվան ծագման մասին ժողովուրդն ունի բանաստեղծական ոգով ստեղծված մի գեղեցիկ ավանդություն, որը պատմում է այն մասին, թե ամեն գիշեր սիրահար մի պատանի լողալով հասնում է կղզի, ուր գտնվել է իր սիրելի

Թամարը: Տղային դեպի մութ ու խավար կղզին առաջնորդել է Թամարի վառած խարույկը: Պատանին, իր սովորության համաձայն, երբ ծովն է մտնում, այս անգամ դեպի իր Թամարը առաջնորդող լույսը չի նշմարում: Նա ծովում մոլորվում ու խեղդվում է: Ու կարծես թե ջրահեղձ սիրահարի շուրթերրև սառել էին երկու բառ. «Ախ, Թամար»: Այսպիսով, ի հիշատակ սիրային այդ հուզիչ պատմության, կղզին կոչվեց «Ախթամար»: Այդ անունը ժամանակի ընթացքում ձևափոխվեց և դարձավ «Աղթամար»:

Սիրային այս գեղեցիկ ավանդությունը դարձել է Հովհաննես Թումանյանի «Ախթամար» լեգենդի սյուժեն:

Վերադառնանք Աղթամար կղզուն, որը հայոց ազգային պատմության ու մշակույթի փառքն է եղել: Այս նշանավոր կղզին Գագիկ Արծրունի թագավորի օրոք՝ տասներորդ դարում, շենացավ ու պայծառացավ, իսկ նրա լուսապսակը, ինչպես ասվեց, ս. Խաչ տաճարը դարձավ: Արծրունիները իրենց մայրաքաղաքը հիմնեցին Աղթամար կղզում: Ս. Խաչ տաճարը կառուցել է հանճարեղ ճարտարապետ Մանվելը՝ 915—921 թվականների ընթացքում:

Ժամանակին ս. Խաչին կից կային կաթողիկոսարան, միաբանության և ուխտավորների համար հատուկ շենքեր:

Ս. Խաչ տաճարը հայկական ճարտարապետության գլուխգործոցներից է: Թե Աղթամարի ս. Խաչը և թե Բագրևանդի ս. Հովհաննես տաճարը հանդիսանում են Արևմտյան Հայաստանի ամենանշանավոր կոթողները և իրենց ճարտարապետական ներդաշնակ ոճով, և հոյակապությամբ: Ս. Խաչ տաճարը ունի կենտրոնական գմբեթավոր ոճ: Տասներորդ դարի պատմիչ Թովմա Արծրունին, խոսելով ս. Խաչի կառուցման մասին, պատմում է, որ Գագիկ թագավորը «հրամայեց իր հանճարեղ ճարտարապետին, որ տաճարն ունենա 40 կանգուն[1] երկարություն, 40 կանգուն լայնություն, նույնչափ էլ բարձրություն: Տաճարը աներ և զարմանալի տեսք ուներ, «երեք քայլաչափ էին պատերի հաստությունը, քար ու կրաշաղախով

այնպես էին ձուլված, որ նման էին պղնձի և կապարի ձուլվածքի: Առանց սյուների կանգնած էր տաճարը և այնչափ բարձր, որ մարդիկ ստիպված էին գլխարկները ցած առնել գմբեթի միջի և ուրիշ տեղերի նկարազարդությունը դիտելու համար»[2]:

Թովմա Արծրունին պատմում է նաև այն մասին, թե ինչպես Գագիկը «...նկատելով, որ ոչ միայն հարմար էր իրեն բնակության համար, այլև անվտանգ ապաստան թշնամիների հարձակման ժամանակ, այդ կղզին պարսպեց այնպիսի ձևով, որ ծովի մի մասը կղզիին կողմը թողեց, և պարիսպը ծովին միջով անցուց, որով փոթորիկների և ալեկոծությունների ժամանակ ևս պարսպին ներս անվտանգ նավահանգիստ դարձավ»1:

Աղթամարի ս. Խաչ տաճարի պատերի վրա այսօր էլ մնում են բազմաթիվ քանդակներ՝ ծաղիկներ, ծառեր, դեմքեր, արձանախմբեր, արձանագրություններ և այլ խորաքանդակներ:

Անվանի հայագետ Հ. Օրբելին տաճարի մասին խոսելիս, ընդգծում է նրա «աչքի ընկնող դերը ոչ միայն հայ արվեստի, այլև արևելաքրիստոնեական արվեստի համար ընդհանրապես՝ այս տերմինի ամենալայն առումով»: Ըստ անվանի գիտնականի Աղթամարի ս. Խաչ տաճարը հանդիսանում է որպես «միանգամայն բացառիկ մյուս տաճարների շարքում»:

Այսպիսին է միջնադարյան հայ ճարտարապետության գոհարներից մեկը՝ Աղթամարի սուրբ Խաչ տաճարը, որը մնում է որպես լուռ վկա հայ ժողովրդի պատմական անցյալի:

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[1] Կանգունը երկարության հին չափ է, որը տարբեր մեծություն է ունեցել: Տվյալ դեպքում կանգունը հավասար է մոտավորապես կես մետրի:

[2] Թ. Թորամանյան, Հայկական ճարտարապետություն, 1942 թ., էջ 307:

JEWS IN ANCIENT ARMENIA
(1st Century BC – 5th Century AD)

1. The Oldest Evidence in Armenian Literature: Jews Deported from Armenia by the Persians (368/9 AD)

The first ancient Armenian literary source to mention Jewish population in Armenia is the *History of Armenia* ascribed to P'awstos Buzand[1], probably composed in the third quarter of the fifth century AD[2]. The long passage (IV.55) which refers to multitudes of Jewish families living in Armenian cities concerns one of the most disastrous and fatal events in the history of Armenia, namely the invasion of the country by Persian troops circa 368/9[3]. As a consequence of that invasion, almost all significant Armenian cities were ruined and devastated, and their inhabitants, according to P'awstos, exclusively Armenians and Jews, were captured and taken to Persia. He speaks of more than 95,000 Jewish families settled in seven Armenian cities: Artašat, Vałaršapat, Eruandašat, Zarehawan, Zarišat, Van, and Naxčawan. This campaign of the Persian king Shāpūr II (reigned 309-379) was the completion of a series of energetic diplomatic and military actions directed towards the subjection of the disobedient country following the peace agreement concluded with the Roman emperor Flavius Jovian (363-364) in 363.

[1] Փաւստոսի Բուզանդացւոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց (*The* History of Armenia *by P'awstos Buzandac'i*), edited by K'. PATKANEAN, St. Petersburg, 1883. The English citations are from Nina Garsoïan's translation: *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand* (*Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*), translation and commentary by N.G. GARSOÏAN, Cambridge (Mass.), 1989 (= *The Epic Histories*).

[2] In Step'an Malxasyanc''s opinion, the work was most likely written in the 470s: P'AWSTOS BUZAND, Պատմություն հայոց (*History of Armenia*), Modern Armenian translation, introduction and commentary by S. MALXASYANC', Erevan, 1947, reprinted 1968, 1987, and Cairo, 1954; our reference is to the 1968 edition: p. 37. Garsoïan shares the same view: *The Epic Histories*, p. 11.

[3] See J. MARQUART (MARKWART), *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran 5: Zur Kritik des Faustos von Byzanz*, in *Philologus*, LV (1896), Supplementband X, Heft 1, S. 220; H. MANANDYAN, Քննական տեսություն հայ ժողովրդի պատմության (*A Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People*), vols. 1-3, Erevan, 1944, 1952, 1957, and 1960 (= MANANDYAN, *A Critical Survey*), reprinted in the collection of Manandyan's works in 8 volumes (so far, six have been published: 1977-1985): Երկեր (*Studies*), vol. 1 (1977), vol. 2 (1978), vol. 3 (1977), Erevan; our reference is to the *Studies*: vol. 2, p. 205-206 (for Manandyan's other works, too, our references are to the reprinted versions in the *Studies* [= MANANDYAN, *Studies*]).

To clarify the context in which the Jewish families are mentioned, we must present briefly the sequence of events leading to the conquest of the Armenian cities. The most reliable description is by Ammianus Marcellinus[4] (ca. 330-395), an eye-witness, as follows. The emperor Julian (361-363) campaigned against Persia[5]; King Arsaces (Aršak II [reigned ca. 350-368/9]) of Armenia was Julian's ally (XXIII.ii). The Romans reached Ctesiphon, the winter capital of the Persian kings (XXIV.vi). However, although here Julian's army won a brilliant victory, the Roman emperor and his generals decided not to besiege the city, regarding the undertaking as "rash and untimely," so they retreated (XXIV.vii). In a subsequent battle Julian was killed[6] (XXV.iii), and Flavius Jovian, "a slothful, weak man," was chosen as emperor[7]. Under the pressure of starving and exhausted Roman soldiers, Jovian concluded a thirty years' "shameful treaty" (*ignobile decretum*) with Shāpūr II, ceding five provinces west of the Tigris and the cities Nisibis and Singara to the Persians (XXV.vii). Then Ammianus indicates what the agreement stipulated regarding Armenia (XXV.vii.12). Based on this, some time later (in about 368/9) Shāpūr's army destroyed the seven Armenian cities and moved their Armenian and Jewish inhabitants to Persia. "To these conditions"[8], Ammianus writes, "there was added another… namely, that Arsaces… should never, if he asked it, be given help against the Persians."

The same events are also described in detail in the *Nea Historia* (III.xii–xxxi) of the early sixth century Byzantine author Zosimus. He says (III.xxxi.2) that, according to the treaty, "the Persians also took away most of Armenia, allowing the Romans to keep only a small part"[9], but this concerns more the aftermath of the truce than the agreement itself.

P'awstos Buzand, too, knows about the fatal treaty (IV.21), and he also narrates that Shāpūr waged war against Aršak, king of Armenia. According to Hakob Manandyan, this happened in the year 364, and for

[4] Ammianus' *Rerum gestarum libri* is quoted from the following edition: *Ammianus Marcellinus*, with an English translation by John C. Rolfe (*Loeb Classical Library*), vols. 1-3, London, Cambridge (Mass.), first published 1935-1940.

[5] In March 363; Ammianus Marcellinus accompanied Julian in this expedition.

[6] On June 26, 363.

[7] He suddenly died on February 17, 364, having ruled only for 8 months.

[8] I. e., to the surrender of five provinces and two cities to the Persians.

[9] Zosimus, *New History*, a translation with commentary by Ronald T. Ridley, *Byzantina Australiensia*, 2, Canberra, 1982 (reprinted 1984, 1990), p. 66.

four years the Armenians were able to resist successfully the attacks of the powerful Persian army[10], Finally, as Ammianus witnesses, after deceitfully summoning Aršak to Persia and executing him[11], Shāpūr conquered most of Armenia including the royal stronghold Artogerassa (Artagers)[12]. Thus, the destruction of the seven cities and the capture of Armenians and Jews should be viewed in the context of this last and victorious incursion of Shāpūr's armed forces into Armenia.

3. The Information on the Conquest of the Cities: Exact or Legendary?

P'awstos Buzand's work is an extremely important source for the history of the fourth century Armenia[13], but specialists know that the book is largely based on oral traditions, rather than on any written account[14], and that it contains many inaccuracies and fabulous stories. Consequently, before dealing with the ethnicity and numbers of the deported inhabitants, we must first determine whether or not the main substance of P'awstos' testimony is rooted in reality. In other words, is it true that Artašat, Vałaršapat, Eruandašat, Zarehawan, Zarišat, Van, and Naxčawan were seized and destroyed by the Persians and their citizens taken captive?

Ammianus Marcellinus provides valuable data which, although for the most part lacking specific details, corroborate P'awstos' words in general terms. According to Ammianus, the result of the peace treaty "was that later… Arsaces was taken alive, and that the Parthians[15] amid various dissensions and disturbances seized a great tract of Armenia bordering on Media, along with Artaxata" (XXV.vii.12). Artaxata (Artašat) is the first of the seven cities listed by Buzand, and the "great tract of Armenia" (*Armeniae maximum latus*) might well have included the other six.

Later, following his reference to Arsaces' execution (XXVII.xii.3), Ammianus tells about the same encroachment of Shāpūr's troops into Armenia (368/9), resulting in the seizure and destruction of the royal fortress Artogerassa (XXVII.xii.11-12): "Sapor… mustering greater

[10] MANANDYAN, *A Critical Survey*: *Studies*, vol. 2, p. 184.

[11] According to P'awstos Buzand (V.7) and Movsēs Xorenac'i (II.35), Aršak committed suicide in prison.

[12] See Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII.xii.1-3 and 12.

[13] It covers a period of about 57 years (ca. 330-387).

[14] Cf. in Garsoïan's introduction: *The Epic Histories*, p. 22-35. The Armenian script was created at the beginning of the fifth century AD, and there were no written sources in Armenian for the earlier period.

[15] Ammianus means the Persians.

forces began to devastate Armenia with open pillage… After burning the fruit-bearing trees and the fortified castles and strongholds that he had taken by force or by betrayal, he blockaded Artogerassa with the whole weight of his forces and after some battles of varying result and the exhaustion of the defenders, forced his way into the city and set it on fire, dragging out and carrying off the wife and the treasures of Arsaces."

Ammianus confirms the capture of Artaxata in the first passage cited above (XXV.vii.12) and by "the fortified castles and strongholds" (*castella munita et castra*), which Shāpūr burned (XXVII. xii. 12), he may have also meant Vałaršapat, Eruandašat, Zarehawan, Zarišat, Van, and Naxčawan. As to the deportation, ethnicity and numbers of the inhabitants, one has to rely, so far as it is reasonable, on P'awstos' and, additionally, on Movsēs Xorenac'i's (see below) information[16].

4. Table of the Cities and the Numbers of Captivated Inhabitants According to P'awstos

City name	Province	Number of Jewish families	Number of Armenian families	Number of families (ethnicity unspecified)
Artašat	9,000	40,000		
Vałaršapat				19,000
Eruandašat	30,000	20,000		
Zarehawan	Bagrewand	8,000	5,000	
Zarišat	Ałiovit	14,000	10,000	
Van	Tozb	18,000	5,000	
Naxčawan	16,000	2,000		
		Total: 95,000	**Total:** 82,000	

5. What do the Numbers Indicate and What Could "Jews" (Հրեայք) in P'awstos Buzand Mean?

As seen from the table, among the mentioned cities Armenians formed the large majority only in Artašat, the most celebrated Armenian metropolis in the ancient world. Regarding Vałaršapat the proportion of Jews to Armenians is not clear, for P'awstos gives only the total

[16] The fact of the deportation itself seems not be open to doubt, for it was characteristic of the Sāsānian kings not to massacre the inhabitants of conquered cities one and all but to move many of them to Persia as labor force: see A. CHRISTENSEN, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, deuxième édition, Paris, 1944, p. 126-127 and 251.

number[17] of the citizens, without indicating their ethnicity. In the other five cities the Jewish families, in various ratios, form the majority, which is especially striking in the cases of Van and Naxčawan. It is interesting that in the *History* by the ninth-tenth century historiographer T'ovma Arcruni (X), the same numbers (5,000 and 18,000) of the inhabitants of Van are given, but the Jews, on the contrary, are 5.000 and the Christians (not "Armenians"!) are 18,000[18].

P'awstos' information, very likely not based on any documentary evidence but just acquired by word of mouth, should not be accepted at face value; no doubt, the numbers of both Jewish and Armenian inhabitants are strongly exaggerated. Nevertheless, Manandyan concludes that in the days of Tigran and later on during the Arsacid reign not the Armenians themselves but the foreign settlers, in the first place Jews and Syrians, played the leading role in the country's commercial affairs[19]. Garsoïan infers that "the Armenians of this period were not city dwellers at any level of society"[20], and that the data given by P'awstos "show almost invariably that the Jews composed the majority of the early Armenian urban population"[21]. Although these conclusions based on P'awstos Buzand seem to be somewhat categorical, we can clearly state the following: if there were not considerable numbers of Jews in Armenia at the time of the Persian expedition of 368/9, Buzand would not have mentioned them at all, and the large numbers, although exaggerated, indicate that the Jewish settlement was substantial. Furthermore, one may also conjecture that even after the removal of those tens of thousands to Persia by Shāpūr II, Armenian Jewry had by no means become just a distant memory in the time of P'awstos. He was most probably led to

[17] There may be a lacuna in the text where, possibly, P'awstos had mentioned the numbers of Armenians and Jews separately; cf. M. ABEŁEAN, Հայ ժողովրդական առասպելները Մովսէս Խորենացու *Հայոց պատմութեան* մէջ (*The Armenian Myths in Movsēs Xorenac'i's* History of Armenia), Vałaršapat, 1899, p. 560.

[18] Թովմայի վարդապետի Արծրունւոյ *Պատմութիւն Տանն Արծրունեաց* (*The* History of the Arcruni House *by T'ovma vardapet Arcruni*), edited by K'. PATKANEAN, St. Petersburg, 1887; THOMAS ARTSRUNI, *History of the House of Artsrunik'*, translation, introduction and commentary by R.W. THOMSON, Detroit, 1985. Notably, T'ovma divides Van's dwellers into two large religious, not ethnic, groups, "Jews" and "Christians": for the religious meaning of *Հրեայ*, see below.

[19] H. MANANDYAN, *О торговле в городах Армении в связи с мировой торговлей древних времен* (*On the Trade in the Cities of Armenia in Relation to the Trade in Ancient Times*), Erevan, 1930 (reprinted 1954 and 1985) (= MANANDYAN, *On the Trade*): *Studies*, vol. 6 (1985), p. 63. The book has also been published in English: H. MANANDIAN, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, translated into English by N. G. GARSOÏAN, Lisbon, 1965.

[20] N.G. GARSOÏAN, *The Early Medieval Armenian City: An Alien Element?* in *Bickerman Memorial Volume: The Jewish Theological Seminary*, 16-17 (1984-1985), p. 81.

[21] *The Epic Histories*, p. 380-381.

speak of more than 95,000 Jewish families figuring in the tragic events of some hundred years before his time by the continuing existence of their descendents as a significant part of Armenia's population. This becomes more apparent when one deals with another early medieval Armenian literary source, namely the *History of Armenia* by Movsēs Xorenac'i[22] (discussed below), in which Jews are often quite conspicuous.

One should also suppose that the term means both "Jews" and "Judaizers" rather than simply the ethnos, for otherwise the large numbers of "Jewish" captives and the odd division of the city-dwellers only into two groups, "Jews" and "Armenians," would be difficult to understand[23]. In this respect, the passage in Josephus Flavius' (37/38-100 AD) *War of the Jews* (II.462-464) describing the enmity between the two large groups of the inhabitants of Syrian cities is extremely interesting. Speaking about the events preceding the great war against the Romans and the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 BC, Josephus writes that "every city was divided into two armies, encamped one against another, and the preservation of the one party was in the destruction of the other"[24]. Those two armies were "Syrians" (Σύροι) and "Jews" (Ἰουδαῖοι)[25].

[22] Movsēs Xorenac'i, Պատմութիւն հայոց (*History of Armenia*), critical text and introduction by M. Abełean and S. Yarut'iwnean, Tiflis, 1913, reprinted (facsimile), with a supplement by A. Sargsean, Erevan, 1991. The English citations are from Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary on the literary sources by R.W. Thomson, revised edition (first edition: Cambridge [Mass.], London, 1978), Ann Arbor, 2006 (= Moses Khorenats'i). Xorenac'i was presumably writing in the early eighties of the fifth century AD (he claims to be the pupil of Maštoc', the inventor of the Armenian alphabet). Unlike the other early medieval Armenian historiographers, who wrote about a certain period, Movsēs attempted to embrace in his work the comprehensive history of Armenia, beginning with the events of earliest antiquity. His traditional date has been challenged by a number of scholars who have regarded him as a later (seventh, eighth or even ninth century author). The debates on this issue still continue. The most recent study discussing the issue is: N.G. Garsoïan, *L'Histoire attribuée à Movsēs Xorenac'i: que reste-t-il à en dire?*, in *Revue des études arméniennes*, NS 29 (2003-2004), p. 29-48. She concludes that "C'est dans le demi-siècle qui suit la défaite de Bagrewand [775 AD]... que l'on peut placer... l'*Histoire* de Movsēs Xorenac'i." Discussion of Movsēs Xorenac'i's date lies beyond our immediate concern.

[23] Felix Ter-Martirosov's supposition that in Chapter IV.55 by "Jews" Buzand meant "the citizens proper" (собственно горожан) while "Armenians" signify "the inhabitants of the rural district belonging to the city" (жителей сельской округи принадлежащей городу) is totally unsupported: F. Ter-Martirosov, *Преддверие христианства в Армении* (*The Threshold of Christianity in Armenia*), in *Proceedings of the Conference on Armenia and Christian Orient* (*Erevan, 1998*), Erevan, 2000, p. 65.

[24] The English citations from Josephus' works are from *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, translated by William Whiston, first printed in A. M. Auburn and Buffalo, 1895. The Greek citations are from *Flavii Iosephi opera*, ed. B. Niese, vols. 1-4, Berlin, 1885-1892 (reprinted 1955).

[25] Cf. L.H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, Princeton, 1993 (= Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*), p. 350, and Sh.J.D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*

The former were massacring the latter, but among the Ἰουδαῖοι there were people whom the Syrians suspected but were not determined to kill. Josephus calls them "Judaizers" (Ἰουδαΐζοντας) and characterizes them as "ambiguous" (ἀμφίβολον) and "mixed" (μεμιγμένον), unlike those clearly "alien" (ἀλλόφυλον), that is, ethnic Jews. What Josephus says about the Ἰουδαῖοι in Syrian cities may well be true regarding the Armenian equivalent for "Jews" in Buzand: *հրեայք* or *հրէայք* (*հրեայ* or *հրէայ* in singular) should be interpreted as "Jews and Judaizers," i. e., people of other nations, probably non-Armenians (because the Armenians form the other large group of the seven cities), converted to Judaism. Needless to say, "becoming a Jew" was a widespread custom in many countries of the civilized world throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods[26].

In scholarly literature, the various meanings of "Jew" (or "Judean") and "Judaizer" are stressed. We would like to mention two, comparatively new, studies discussing those terms in detail. Louis H. Feldman speaks of "God-fearers" (φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν) and "sympathizers," "those non-Jews who adopted certain Jewish practices without actually converting to Judaism"[27]. The story of the gradual conversion of Izates, king of Adiabene (see below) told by Josephus (*Antiquities* XX.17ff.) is a good example of how a "symphathizer" becomes a proselyte. Shaye J. D. Cohen[28] notes three main meanings for the Hebrew *Yehudi*, Greek *Ioudaios* and Latin *Judaeus*: 1) ethnic/geographic, 2) religious/cultural, and 3) political ("a citizen or ally of the Judean state")[29]. For the first meaning, he prefers "Judean" to "Jew" in English. Notably, in Josephus' story about the conversion of the royal family of Adiabene, where Izates wants to be circumcised to "be steadily a Jew" (εἶναι βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος), *Ioudaios* has absolutely no ethnic sense and means only "Judaizer"[30]. Both of the first two meanings mentioned by Cohen seem to be relevant to Buzand's *հրեայք*, which is the exact Armenian

(*Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*), Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1999 (= COHEN, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*), p. 184-185; Cohen regards "Judaizers" and the "ambiguous" element as different subgroups.

[26] The studies on this topic are numerous: see, for example, FELDMAN, *Jew and Gentile*, p. 342-415 (Chapters 10 ["The Success of Jews in Winning 'Sympathizers'"] and 11 ["Prozelytizm by Jews in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Centuries"]), and COHEN, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*, p. 129-197 (Chapters 4 ["From *Ethnos* to Ethno-religion], 5 ["Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew"], and 6 ["*Ioudaïzein*, 'to Judize'"]).

[27] FELDMAN, *Jew and Gentile*, 340 ff. In n. 1 to his Chapter 10, p. 569-570, Feldman gives a bibliography on "God-fearers."

[28] COHEN, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*, p. 69-106 (Chapter 3: "*Ioudaios, Iudaeus*, Judean, Jew").

[29] *Ibidem*, p. 70.

[30] Cf. *ibidem*, p. 79

equivalent of the Hebrew *Yehudim*, Greek *Ioudaioi*, and Latin *Judaei*[31] and probably has, in addition to "ethnic Jews" ("Judeans"), also the wider meaning "followers of Judaism," Judeans and non-Judeans, including "sympathizers," "God-fearers," and proselytes.

We should cite examples from Armenian literature, starting with the old Armenian version of the noted passage in Acts (2:5-11)[32], referring to "Jews from every nation" (Ἰουδαῖοι … ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους), listed afterwards as "Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and residents of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene, and visitors from Rome, both Jews and Proselytes, Cretans and Arabs." In the Armenian Bible, "Jews from every nation," subsequently explained as both "Jews and proselytes" (Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι), is translated literally: *Հրեայք յամենայն ազգաց*. This usage of *Հրեայք* meaning "Jews and proselytes," together with the oral tradition associating *Հրեայ* with the two meanings, ethnic and cultural/religious, and being derived from *Yehudi-Ioudaios-Judaeus*, would have easily entered original writings. A typical example of a wider, not simply ethnic, meaning of the word is found in the *History of Vardan and the Armenian War* by the fifth century historiographer Ełišē[33]. One of the Persian kings (Shāpūr II or III) is mentioned, who, after uselessly trying to persecute Christians, had to tolerate them, as well as adherents of other religions in his kingdom[34]: "He commanded the magi and chief-magi that no one should molest them in any way, but that they should remain undisturbed in their own doctrines without fear — magus and Zandik[35] and Jew (*Հրեայն*) and Christian, and whatever other many sects there where throughout the Persian Empire." Ełišē lists religious, not ethnic, groups, and in this passage *Հրեայ* means rather "a follower of the Jewish religion," in a more general sense, than simply "a representative of the Jewish nation." This religious meaning of the word is apparent in the following usage of the abstract noun *Հրեութիւն* (literally, "Jewishness"), a derivative of *Հրեայ*, in the *Teach-*

[31] Cf. H. Ačaŕyan, Հայերեն արմատական բառարան (*Etymological Dictionary of Armenian*), vols. 1-7, Erevan, 1926-1935, reprinted in 4 volumes in 1971-1979: our reference is to the reprint: vol. 3, 1977, p. 134, s. v. *Հրեայ*.

[32] The Bible was translated into Armenian immediately after the invention of the Armenian script in 405.

[33] Եղիշէի *Վասն Վարդանայ և Հայոց պատերազմին* (*Ełišē's* On Vardan and the Armenian War), critical text and introduction by Ervand Ter-Minasyan, Erevan, 1957 (for an English translation, see the next note).

[34] The citation is from Thomson's translation: Elishē, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, translation and commentary by R.W. Thomson, Cambridge (Mass.), London, 1982, p. 112.

[35] I.e. Manichaean; see *ibidem*, n. 4.

ing of Saint Gregory (§542), surviving as part of the *History of Armenia* attributed to the fifth century author Agat'angełos)[36]: "…Paul was unknown to be a vessel of election [Acts 9:15] in the time of his Judaism (*ի հրէութեան ժամանակին*)," or (§544): "In the time of the priesthood of Judaism (*ի ժամանակս հրէութեան քահանայութեանն*)… the priests took the fire of the sacrifices and cast it into the well." Finally, as already noted above, it is remarkable that the ninth-tenth century author T'ovma Arcruni, narrating[37] the same deportation of Armenians and Jews by the Persians, mentions "Christians" instead of Armenians (*5,000 զհրէայսն և 18,000 զքրիստոնեայսն*) taken captive in Van. Thus, the "Jews," according to T'ovma, were a large religious group, like the Christians.

P'awstos explains the presence of *հրեայք* in Armenian cities by the deportations of Tigran II the Great (reigned 95-55 BC), king of Armenia, who had taken them prisoners from Palestine. As we shall see, Tigran II had deported numerous captives not only from Palestine but also from other countries. Part of those peoples could have been converted to Judaism before Tigran's campaigns, and part of them possibly became "sympathizers," "God-fearers" or proselytes after being settled, together with ethnic Jews, in Armenia[38]. The Armenian tradition reflected in P'awstos Buzand and other early medieval literary sources, in accordance with the general concept of the "Jews" in the Greco-Roman world, did not clearly distinguish the ethnos from the followers or converts: for the Armenians, all of them were *հրեայք*[39].

[36] We cite the *Teaching* and the *History* (below) from Thomson's translations: AGATHANGELOS, *History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary by R.W. THOMSON, Albany, 1976, and *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*, translation, commentary and introduction by R.W. THOMSON, revised edition (first edition: Cambridge [Mass.], 1970), New York, 2001. See also Ագաթանգեղայ *Պատմութիւն Հայոց* (*Agat'angełos'* History of Armenia), critical text and introduction by G. TĒR-MKRTČ'EAN and S. KANAYEANC', Tiflis, 1909.

[37] His narrative is partly based on Xorenac'i III.35.

[38] An attempt has been made to refute the fact of deportation of Jews to Armenia by Tigran: see R. MANASERYAN, *К вопросу о вероисповедании населения городов Армении (I в. до н. э.- IV в. н. э.)* (*On the Problem of the Religion of the Inhabitants of Armenian Cities [1st c. BC — 4th c. AD]*), in *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1989, No. 2, p. 198-204. The author of the article claims that Greco-Roman sources do not mention Jews among the peoples taken captive by Tigran, so the numerous *հրեայք* settled in Armenia and referred to by P'awstos Buzand and Movsēs Xorenac'i were exclusively proselytes. This view would need further argumentation, for the Greco-Roman authors (see below) do not specify other nations either (with the exception of Greeks), giving only the names of the countries or cities form which they were deported. According to the well-known custom, they speak only of Greeks and οἱ βάρβαροι, and the "barbarians" could well include Jews. Besides, such a mass proselytization would not be possible if a significant number of ethnic Jews did not live in Armenia.

[39] Cf. COHEN, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*, p. 25-67, Chapter 2: "Those Who Say They Are Jews and Are Not," where he discusses the question of how Jews in the ancient

P'awstos Buzand (IV.55) says: "All this multitude of Jews, who were taken into captivity from the land of Armenia, had been taken in ancient times from the land of Palestine by the great Armenian King Tigran, at the time that he also took and brought to Armenia the high-priest of the Jews Hiwrakandos. And the great King Tigran brought all these Jews in his own days, and settled them in the Armenian cities."

Buzand has confused different events, which took place in different years[40]. He mentions the high priest Hyrcanus (Hiwrakandos) who in reality was captured in the year 40 BC, when Tigran's son Artawazd II (reigned 54-33 BC) was king of Armenia (Tigran II had died in 55 BC). Josephus Flavius, the main source dealing with Hyrcanus' captivity, narrates the following (*Antiquities* XIV.330-367 and XV.14; *War* I.248-273): Barzapharnes, a satrap of the Parthians, and the king's son Pacorus with their troops conquered Syria and invaded Judaea, reaching as far as Jerusalem. Lysanias, king of Coele Syria, and Antigonus, the previous high priest and king of Judaea, promised Pacorus a thousand talents and five hundred women if he would remove Hyrcanus from the power and restore Antigonus to the throne. The Parthians continued their military expedition in Judaea, plundering Jerusalem and besieging the coastal towns of Tyre, Sidon and Ptolemaïs (Acre). The inhabitants of Sidon and Ptolemaïs yielded to the Parthians while the Tyrians resisted them. Hyrcanus and his companion-in-arms Phasaelus, Herod's brother, were persuaded to meet the Parthians for negotiations. They left Herod in Jerusalem and went to the maritime town of Ecdippon. They were perfidiously imprisoned and handed over to Antigonus, who bit Hyrcanus' ears off, so that he can never hold the high priesthood again, for, according to Jewish law, a priest must be whole of limb. Phasaelus commited suicide while Hyrcanus was taken captive, as Josephus says, to Parthia. Later on Josephus indicated that Hyrcanus, after being brought to Parthia, was lodged in Babylon.

world could have or have not been distinguished from other peoples and comes to the following conclusion (pp. 67-68): "How, then, did you know a Jew in antiquity when you saw one? The answer is that you did not. But you could make reasonably plausible inferences from what you saw." Thus, a "Jew" was "someone associating with Jews, living in a (or the) Jewish part of town, married to a Jew, and, in general, integrated socially with other Jews," or, "someone performing Jewish rituals and practices." However, this was not certain, because "gentiles often mingled with Jews and some gentiles even observed Jewish rituals and practices." As a result, some gentiles were called Jews and others called themselves Jews.

[40] Cf. MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 61-62.

Scholars have stated that Josephus' information about Hyrcanus settling in Babylon contradicts what is told by Buzand, namely that Hyrcanus was taken captive, together with other Jews, to Armenia[41]. And since no one has doubted the truthfulness of Josephus' account, it has naturally been concluded that the Armenian tradition is false. Let us try, however, to explain that contradiction, using the other important Armenian source for the events in question, the *History of Armenia* by Movsēs Xorenac'i, and taking into consideration that Josephus in fact does not clearly distinguish Armenia and the Armenians from Parthia and the Parthians[42]. Furthermore, we should stress again that, according to Josephus, Hyrcanus was first taken to Parthia and only after that, when brought to King Phraates who treated him gently, did he receive a dwelling in Babylon. Consequently, even if not much importance is attached to the confusion of Parthia and Armenia in Josephus, we may infer that Hyrcanus could well have been in Armenia, at least for a short period of time, on his way to Parthia and Phraates' palace, before settling in Babylon, and together with him other Jews could have been brought captive to Armenia[43].

Movsēs Xorenac'i helps to explain both the anachronisms in Buzand and the contradiction between Josephus and the Armenian tradition about where Hyrcanus was brought by the victorious troops. He refers to two deportations of Jewish population to Armenia.

The first deportation, according to Movsēs (II.14), took place before the conquest of the Phoenician town Ptolemaïs by Tigran[44]. "…He attacked Palestine…" Movsēs writes about Tigran, "He took many captives from among the Jews and besieged the city of Ptolemaïs…" Then Xorenac'i narrates (II.16) that those Jews were settled in two Armenian cities: "The king of Armenia, Tigran, after settling the Jewish prisoners in Armawir and in the city of Vardges… marched to Syria against the Roman army…" Armawir was the ancient capital of Armenia[45]: in addi-

[41] See, for example, *The Epic Histories*, p. 305 and 380.

[42] In the *War* (I.362-363), Josephus writes that Antony campaigned "against the Parthians."This is said about the Roman general's campaign to Armenia, in consequence of which the Armenian king Artawazd II was captured. Then, as Josephus writes, returning from Parthia (ἐκ Πάρθων), Antony presented "the Parthian" (ὁ Πάρθος) Artawazd to Cleopatra. Consequently, we may conclude that Josephus sometimes used "Parthian" as a general term to include Armenians. Considering the Iranian influences of Armenian society and that the Arsacid dynasty was a cadet branch of the Parthian, this is not surprising. See further Nina G. Garsoïan, *Prolegomena to a Study of the Iranian Elements in Arsacid Armenia*, in *Handēs Amsoreay*, 90 (1976), p. 177-234.

[43] Perhaps those Jews, unlike Hyrcanus, took up their residence in Armenia.

[44] Tigran II conquered Ptolemaïs in 70 BC: cf. Josephus, *War* I.116 and *Antiquities* XIII.419-421.

[45] See below on this and the other Armenian cities figuring in our article.

tion to the seven cities mentioned by Buzand, Xorenac'i witnesses to Jewish settlers in Armawir as well. However, as he later (II.49) reports, those Jews were subsequently moved by King Eruand to his new capital Eruandašat, and, finally, the celebrated Artašat was made their home by King Artašēs. Furthermore, in II.65 Movsēs reports that "the city of Vardges" was Vałaršapat fortified by King Vałarš, and in III.35 he describes the devastation of Armenian cities by Shāpūr's army (ca. 368/9) and the captivity of Jews living in Van, Artašat and Vałaršapat. His account is much shorter than that in Buzand, but he adds notable details, which will be discussed below.

The second deportation is referred to in Chapter II.19. He speaks of Jews brought by the Armenian commander Barzap'ran Ṙštuni to Van. The content of the relevant parts of his narrative generally corresponds to one of his main sources for this chapter, Josephus' account of the Parthian incursion into Syria in 40 BC summarized above. However, what Xorenac'i tells differs from Josephus in a number of points. The main difference is Movsēs' attribution of the military campaign not exclusively to the Parthians but to the "Armenian-Persian" (= Parthian) joint army. The Parthian satrap Barzapharnes (or Bazaphranes) has become an Armenian, Barzap'ran Ṙštuni. "Pacaros" (= the Parthian king's son Pacorus in Josephus) acts as a mediator between Barzap'ran Ṙštuni and Antigonus suggesting a thousand talents of gold and five hundred women as a bribe for his restoration to the high priesthood and sovereignty.

Some scholars have claimed that the information in Movsēs Xorenac'i which has no parallel in Josephus is false and was simply invented by him[46]. Others have rightly regarded the participation of Armenians in these events quite probable, because in this period the Parthians, together with their allies, the Armenians, carried out prolonged wars in Syria"[47]. But what other work could Movsēs have used for the more detailed information not available in Buzand and for the data absent from Josephus?

Most experts have been mistrustful of Xorenac'i's reference (II.10) to the other important literary source (together with Josephus and Hippolytus of Rome) for this section of his book, namely Julius Africanus'

[46] See, for example, G. Xalatjanc (Xalat'yanc'), *Армянские Аршакиды в* Истории Армении *Моисея Хоренского* (*The Armenian Arsacids in Movsēs Xorenac'i's* History of Armenia), Parts I–II, Moscow, 1903, Part 1, p. 65-66, Part 2, p. 17-19.

[47] Cf. Manandyan, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 61-62 and Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն (*History of the Armenian People*), in 8 volumes, Erevan (Armenian Academy of Sciences), 1967-1984 (= *History of the Armenian People*); vol. 1 (1971), p. 613-614.

(2nd-3rd centuries AD) *Chronicle* now surviving only in fragments. We have already demonstrated that there are verbatim parallels between the relevant passages by Africanus[48] and Movsēs' account[49]. Those parallels corroborate Xorenac'i's use of at least fragments of the *Chronicle*. It is well-known that a large part of Julius Africanus' book covered the same period and related the same events reflected in Josephus Flavius' works, so in certain cases when Movsēs says something different from Josephus, he may have utilized the data available in Africanus. Authors such as Eusebius of Caesarea and George Syncellus used Josephus and Africanus in parallel with one another. Possibly the information on the participation of Armenians in the conquest of Syria in 40 BC was taken from the *Chronicle*. In view of the close relationship of the two allied countries, Parthia and Armenia in the period in question, so close that Josephus confuses them, the commander Barzapharnes (Barzaphranes, Barzap'ran — Βαζαφράνης) might have been an Armenian and might have brought Jewish captives to Armenia.

"Tigran ordered Barzap'ran," Xorenac'i writes (II.19), "to settle the captive Jews from Marisa in the city of Semiramis"[50]. To summarize: P'awstos refers to one captivity of Jews by King Tigran II, at the time when the high priest Hyrcanus, too, was brought to Armenia (40 BC). Those Jews, according to Buzand, were settled in the seven Armenian cities, Artašat, Vałaršapat, Eruandašat, Zarehawan, Zarišat, Van, and Naxčawan, subsequently (in ca. 368/9 AD) ruined by the Persians. Xorenac'i helps to solve the anachronism in Buzand (Tigran II had died in 55 BC and could not have deported Jews in 40 BC). He reports two deportations of Jewish population from Palestine, the first immediately before the fatal conflict of Tigran with the Roman army, that is to say, in 70 BC, and the second at the time of the Parthian-Armenian invasion into Syria and Palestine, i. e., in 40 BC. Of the seven cities with Jewish population mentioned in Buzand, Movsēs speaks of four: Artašat,

[48] It is remarkable that George Syncellus (8th-9th centuries) has preserved, in a very abridged form, Africanus' information concerning these and the subsequent events: see *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga Chronographica*, edidit Alden A. Mosshammer (*Biblioteca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1984, p. 371-373.

[49] One of those parallels is the acting of the Parthian king's son Pacorus as mediator for offering the bribe to his father. In Xorenac'i, too, "Pacaros" is the mediator but the bribe is offered to the Armenian commander. This means that Movsēs utilized Africanus as a source but interpreted him in his own way. For a detailed discussion of this subject, see A. Topchyan, *Julius Africanus' Chronicle and Movsēs Xorenac'i*, in *Le Muséon*, 114 (2001), p. 153-185 (also, A. Topchyan, *The Problem of the Greek Sources of Movsēs Xorenac'i's* History of Armenia, Leuven, 2006 (= Topchyan, *The Problem of the Greek Sources*), p. 84-97).

[50] "The city of Semiramis" is Van.

Vałaršapat, Eruandašat, and Van, but adds another famous Armenian city to the list, Armawir, whence, however, the Jewish settlers were later moved, first to Eruandašat and then to Artašat. Armawir, together with Vałaršapat, became the home of the Jews in 70, while the captives of the year 40 were all settled in Van.

P'awstos has combined different events, placing them at the time of Hyrcanus' captivity (40 BC) and erroneously thinking that the high priest was brought to Armenia by Tigran. Movsēs, too, mistakenly thinks that Barzap'ran was acting on Tigran II's order, while in reality Artawazd II was king of Armenia in 40 BC. However, Xorenac'i clearly, and probably exactly, knows that there was a first deportation at the time when Tigran invaded Phoenicia (70 BC), which, as Josephus tells, he really did. It is unlikely that Movsēs has simply invented this information — there was no reason for such an invention. Josephus speaks of Tigran's siege of Ptolemaïs, keeping silent about any expulsion of Jews. Xorenac'i has drawn data from Julius Africanus' *Chronicle* (probably fragments of it) as well as using Josephus' *War*. The source of Movsēs' knowledge of the first deportation might well have been Africanus. What we can conclude is that during his military campaigns Tigran II surely took captive and brought substantial numbers of Jews to Armenia. The settlement of Armenian cities by way of *synoikismos*[51], through shifting multitudes of peoples from the conquered countries, was typical of Tigran's policy. Such information is also contained in Greco-Roman sources (Strabo [64/63 BC-ca. 23 AD], Plutarch [46-119 AD], Appian [2nd century AD], Cassius Dio [ca. 150-235 AD], and Justin [3rd century AD) citing Pompey Trogus [1st century BC-1st century AD]), according to which in various years the inhabitants of at least twelve Hellenistic cities of Cilicia, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia, and other countries were brought to Armenia. Part of those peoples were probably assimilated by the Armenians, and others, especially Greeks, returned to their countries, while most Jews, as evident from the Armenian sources, stayed in Armenia and lived separately[52]. The policy of *synoikismos* was very likely continued by Tigran II's successor Artawazd II, whose armed forces, accompanying the Parthians during their incursion into Syria and Judea, brought Jewish population and settled them in Van. Subsequently, since in Armenian tradition Tigran the Great's fame overshad-

[51] Cf. S. Krkyašaryan, Սինոյկիսմոսը հելլենիստական փոքր Ասիայում և Հայաստանում (*Synoicism in the Hellenistic Asia Minor and Armenia*), in *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1964, No. 1, p. 107-118.

[52] However, Xorenac'i witnesses (III.35) to the conversion of some of them to Christianity (see below).

owed all his successors, the military campaign and *synoikismos* of the year 40 BC, in Artawazd II's days, too, was attributed to him[53].

For further corroboration of mass deportations of various peoples, most probably including Jews, in the time of Tigran II, let us refer to Greco-Roman sources.

7. Greco-Roman Sources on Tigran's Deportations

P'awstos Buzand and Movsēs Xorenac'i speak only of deported Jews from Palestine, before the siege of Ptolemaïs (70 BC) and in 40 BC, but in fact long before the year 70 BC, in 93 BC, Tigran had already initiated his policy of bringing masses of captive foreigners and settling them in Armenia. This continued throughout his conquests between 93-70 BC, until 69 BC, the first year of Tigran's disastrous conflict with Rome. Among those masses, though not specifically referred to by Greco-Roman sources, very likely were Jews as well. Before discussing the relevant passages in Strabo, Plutarch, Appian, Cassius Dio, and Justin, we should note that, unlike the Armenian sources, they (as well as Josephus Flavius reporting the conquest of the Phoenician city Ptolemaïs) in most cases do not list Palestine among the countries under Tigran's control[54]. However, Plutarch[55], in Lucullus' address to the Roman soldiers (*Lucullus* XIV.6), mentions Tigran as a powerful enemy, who reigns over Syria and Palestine (Συρίας κρατεῖ καὶ Παλαιστίνης)[56]. Appian in the *Syrian War* (VIII.48-49) says that "Tigranes conquered all of the Syrian peoples this side of the Euphrates as far as Egypt"[57]. Thus, Tigran probably held sway, at least for some period of time, over Palestine (or a part of it) as well, and captives could have been brought to Armenia from there too. As to the *synoikismos* of the year 40 BC, the Parthian-Armenian troops had then reached as far as Jerusalem.

[53] Cf. G. SARGSYAN, Աղբյուրների օգտագործման եղանակը Մովսես Խորենացու մոտ (*The Method of Using Sources in Movsēs Xorenac'i*), in *Banber Matenadarani*, 3 (1956), p. 34.

[54] For this reason, it has been asserted that the information in Armenian sources about Jewish captives from Palestine is false: J. OBERMEYER, *Die Landschaft Babylonien*, Frankfurt, 1929 (= OBERMEYER, *Die Landschaft Babylonien*), S. 296.

[55] *Plutarch's* Lives, with an English translation by Bernadotte PERRIN (*Loeb Classical Library*), vols. 1-10, London, Cambridge (Mass.), first published 1914-1926.

[56] So far, no due attention has been paid to this evidence in Plutarch.

[57] *Appian's* Roman History, with an English translation by Horace WHITE (*Loeb Classical Library*), vols. 1-4, London, Cambridge (Mass.), first published 1912-1913. Cf. the Greek original: ὁ Τιγράνης ἦρχε Συρίας τῆς μετ' Εὐφράτην, ὅσα γένη Σύρων μέχρις Αἰγύπτου.

One of Tigran's first invasions, at the beginning of his reign, after he had attached Sophene to Armenia Major, was into Cappadocia (in 93 BC), which subsequently was overrun by him repeatedly. Mithridates Eupator (reigned 120-63 BC), king of Pontus, was Tigran's ally[58]. Pompey Trogus' testimony about this alliance is preserved in Justin's work (XXXVIII.3)[59]. The allies had agreed that the conquered towns and lands would be under the dominion of Mithridates, and the people and any movable property would belong to Tigran[60]. This is partly corroborated by Movsēs Xorenac'i (II.14), who says that at the beginning of his reign Tigran, after his first military campaign, "to... Mithridates... entrusted Mazhak[61]... and leaving a numerous army with him... returned to our country"[62]. The evidence in Strabo's *Geography* about another conquest of Cappadocia[63] and deportation of the Mazaceni is well-known: "Mazaca is distant from Pontus about eight hundred stadia to the south... Tigranes, the Armenian, put the people in bad plight when he overran Cappadocia, for he forced them, one and all, to migrate into Mesopotamia; and it was mostly with these that he settled Tigranocerta" (XII.2.9)[64]. Appian in the *Mithridatic Wars* (X.67) indicates the huge number of the Cappadocian captives taken to Armenia in consequence of this military operation: "Tigranes... the Armenian king threw, as it were, a drag net around Cappadocia and made a haul of about 300.000 people[65], whom he carried off to his own country and settled... in... Tigranocerta."

Tigran's other conquests, between 89-85 BC, after the Parthians had acknowledged his supremacy, included Atropatene, Gordyene, Adiabene, Mygdonia[66], Osroene, and the rest of Mesopotamia. In 84/83

[58] See H. MANANDYAN, Տիգրան Երկրորդը և Հռոմը (*Tigran II and Rome*), Erevan, 1940 (reprinted in 1977) (= MANANDYAN, *Tigran II and Rome*): *Studies*, vol. 1 (1977), p. 430-433. The book has also been published in French: H. MANANDIAN, *Tigrane II & Rome: nouveaux éclaircissements à la lumière des sources originales*, tr. H. THOROSSIAN (*Bibliothèque Arménienne de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian*), Lisbon, 1963. See also *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 561.

[59] *Justini M. Juniani* Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompeii Trogi, ex recens. Fr. RUEHL, Lipsiae, 1915.

[60] "Pactique inter se sunt, ut urbes agrique Mithridati, homines vero et quaecunque auferri possent, Tigrani cederent."

[61] Mazaca, the capital of Cappadocia.

[62] For this noteworthy information in Xorenac'i, see A. TOPCHYAN, *The Problem of the Greek Sources*, p. 85-86.

[63] This time, between 78 and 74 BC: see MANANDYAN, *Tigran II and Rome: Studies*, vol. 1, p. 451.

[64] *The* Geography *of Strabo*, with an English translation by Horace L. JONES (*Loeb Classical Library*), vols. 1-8, London – Cambridge (Mass.), first published 1917-1932.

[65] ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων.

[66] Plutarch (*Lucullus* XXXII.4-5) and Cassius Dio (XXXVI.vi.2: *Dio's* Roman History, with an English translation by Earnest CARY *[Loeb Classical Library]*, vols. 1-9,

BC Tigran ascended the throne of the Seleucids in Antioch, becoming the sovereign of Upper Syria and afterwards of Cilicia Pedias[67] and Commagene. Following those conquests, Tigran from time to time invaded Phoenicia up to 70 BC, when he took Ptolemaïs[68]. The Iberians and Albanians, too, were governed by Tigran[69].

For those campaigns of the "King of Kings," often resulting in mass expulsions of the inhabitants of the defeated countries, the information in Strabo (XI.14.15) is noteworthy. According to him, Tigran devastated the Parthians' country, "both that about Ninus[70] and that about Arbela[71]; and he subjugated to himself the rulers of Atropatene and Gordyaea, and along with these the rest of Mesopotamia, and also… founded a city near Iberia… and, having gathered peoples thither from twelve Greek cities which he had laid waste, he named it Tigranocerta."

Strabo does not specify those twelve "Greek" (that is to say, "Hellenistic" — πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων) cities[72], but they supposedly were in the countries (or in some of them) mentioned in the cited passage, i.e., Sophene, Assyria, Adiabene, Atropatene, Gordyene, "the rest of Mesopotamia" (τὴν λοιπὴν Μεσοποταμίαν), Syria, and Phoenicia.

Strabo's information is supplemented by others. Plutarch (*Lucullus* XXVI.1-2), when describing the siege of Tigranocerta (Tigranakert) in 69 BC by Lucullus' army, says that "there were in the city many Greeks who had been transplanted, like others, from Cilicia, and many Barbarians who had suffered the same fate as the Greeks, — Adiabeni, Assyrians, Gordyeni, and Cappadocians, whose native cities Tigranes had demolished, and brought their inhabitants to dwell there under compulsion." Then (XXIX.2-4) Plutarch writes that the Greek dwellers of Tigranocerta handed it over to the Romans and were sent back to their native cities, together with others ("Barbarians") by Lucullus. Appian informs us that Tigran forcefully settled Armenians, too, in Tigra-

London, Cambridge [Mass.], first published 1914-1927) speak about the conquest of Nisibis, capital of Mygdonia, by Lucullus. Dio says that Tigran "had seized it from the Parthians… and had stationed his brother as guard over it." Plutarch mentions the name of Tigran's brother, Gouras. There was a considerable Jewish population in Nisibis: cf. J. NEUSNER, *Jews in Pagan Armenia*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 84 (1964) (= NEUSNER, *Jews in Pagan Armenia*), p. 237.

[67] Cf. A.H.M. JONES, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 1937 (= JONES, *The Cities*), p. 202.

[68] MANANDYAN, *Tigran II and Rome: Studies*, vol. 1, p. 447-453 and *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 562-565.

[69] Cf. Plutarch, *Lucullus* XXVI.4.

[70] I. e., Nineveh.

[71] The capital of Adiabene.

[72] Perhaps one of the twelve was the Cilician Soli mentioned by name in Plutarch (*Pompey* XXVIII.4) and Cassius Dio (XXXVI.xxxvii.6).

nocerta: the "best" (τοὺς ἀρίστους) of them (XII.84). He probably means the Armenian aristocrats. Furthermore, Appian, like Plutarch, testifies to the seizure of the city by treason: the Greek mercenaries inside "seized some of the towers, called to the Romans outside, and admitted them when they came up. In this way was Tigranocerta taken, and the immense wealth, appertaining to a newly built and nobly peopled city, plundered" (XII.86). Likewise, Cassius Dio (XXXVI.ii.3-4) says that Lucullus "did seize Tigranocerta when the foreigners living in the city revolted against the Armenians; for the most of them were Cilicians who had once been carried off from their own land, and these let in the Romans during the night."

Summing up, we should list the countries mentioned by name in Greco-Roman sources, from where multitudes of captives were banished and settled in Armenian cities: Cappadocia, Cilicia, Adiabene, Assyria, and Gordyene. This does not mean that there were no other *synoikoi* shifted to Armenia from other countries possessed by Tigran. According to his custom, he surely also brought peoples to his urban foundations from elsewhere (for example, from Upper Syria, where he ruled following the Seleucids for about 14 years). No one knows where exactly most of Strabo's twelve cities whose dwellers became Tigranocertians were. One of them was probably Mazaca mentioned by Strabo himself, and another one was perhaps the Cilician Soli, which, as Plutarch and Cassius Dio witness, was ruined by the Armenian king.

The Greco-Roman sources mostly refer to foreign *synoikoi* only in Tigranocerta[73], but it is difficult to imagine that an ancient city, even such a great and marvellous one as Tigran's new capital[74], could host all those masses of foreigners (300,000 only from Cappadocia, captured during one campaign!) together with the Armenian elite, and that those twelve cities, with all their inhabitants, could become one! We should assume that from the beginning some of the captives took up residence at other places (among which were, probably, the seven cities with foreign dwellers mentioned by P'awstos). In two instances, one in Strabo, and the other in Plutarch, much larger geographic entities than simply

[73] The location of Tigranocerta, somewhere around the upper Tigris, is disputed by scholars (see, for example, MANANDYAN, *Tigran II and Rome: Studies*, vol. 1, p. 463-465 and *The Epic Histories*, p. 494). See also the following detailed study: T. SINCLAIR, *The Site of Tigranocerta*, I-II, in *Revue des études arméniennes*, NS 25 (1994-1995), p. 183-254 and NS 26 (1996-1997), p. 51-111. For general information on the city, see T'.X. HAKOBYAN, S.T. MELIK'-BAXŠYAN, H.X. BARSEŁYAN, Հայաստանի և հարակից երջանների տեղանունների բառարան (*Dictionary of Toponyms of Armenia and Neighboring Regions*), vols. 1-5, Erevan, 1986-2001 (= *Dictionary of Toponyms*), vol. 5 (2001), p. 92-94.

[74] See Appian's description of Tigranocerta in the *Mithridatic Wars* (XII.84).

Tigranocerta figure. Strabo, in the passage about the Mazaceni (XII.2.9), before mentioning Tigran's new capital, states that he "forced them, one and all, to migrate into Mesopotamia" (ἅπαντας … ἀναστάτους ἐποίησεν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν), and Plutarch, in Lucullus' address to the Roman soldiers (XIV.6), witnesses that Tigran had moved Hellenistic urban communities to Media (πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνακομίζει). Finally, we should note that Tigranocerta was founded in the late 80s BC[75], whereas Tigran's deportations had begun from the first years of his reign in the mid-90s. Thus he must have settled his earliest deportees elsewhere.

After the fall of Tigranocerta, the sources say that the foreigners, especially the Greeks, returned to their native countries, but doubtless there were many others who stayed and made their home somewhere else in Armenia. In this respect, Strabo's words ὕστερον δ' ἐπανῆλθον οἱ δυνάμενοι ("later on those who were able returned") in the same passage about the Mazaceni (XII.2.9) are important; they indicate that only those captives returned to their homelands who were able to. Also, it is worth noting that Tigranocerta survived this Roman attack and continued to exist, though not as the capital of Armenia, but as an important city, until at least the mid-fourth century AD. According to P'awstos Buzand (IV.24), the troops of the same Shāpūr II, before demolishing Artašat, Vałaršapat, Eruandašat, Zarehawan, Zarišat, Van, and Naxčawan, "took and destroyed the great city Tigranakert," where "they immediately took forty thousand families captive"[76]. This time, Buzand does not specify the nationality of those families: among them could well have been Jews who had returned to Tigranocerta after its recovery from the disaster of 69 BC.

We should also pay attention to some contradictions in the Greco-Roman sources. Strabo regards the Mazaceni (300,000 according to Appian), all of whom (ἅπαντας) had been deported, as the main settlers of Tigranocerta (with them Tigran "mostly" [τὸ πλέον] settled the city). But in the other passage quoted above, Strabo, somewhat contradicting himself, reports that Tigran had gathered there the inhabitants of twelve Hellenistic cities. Cassius Dio, unlike Strabo, informs us that most settlers of Tigranocerta were Cilicians (not Mazaceni): Κίλικές τε γὰρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν. Plutarch, as if summing up all available data, states that there were both Greeks and "Barbarians" in the city; the

[75] *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 573.

[76] This probably happened in 359 AD: see J. MARKWART, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabische Geographen*, Wien, 1930, p. 95-101.

Greeks were among the Cilician migrants (ἦσαν … πολλοὶ μὲν Ἕλληνες τῶν ἀναστάτων ἐκ Κιλικίας), which means that there also were "Barbarians" from Cilicia. The other "Barbarians" were Ἀδιαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἀσσύροι καὶ Γορδυηνοὶ καὶ Καππάδοκες (Adiabenians, Assyrians, Gordyeneans, and Cappadocians).

What we can conclude from these slightly confusing data is that Tigran conquered various countries and transplanted their populations to Armenia, as well as to Mesopotamia and Media, for about 25 years (ca. 95-70 BC). Many of the migrants lived in the new capital, Tigranocerta, while others probably established residence elsewhere in Armenia. Most likely, those Tigranocertians who, after the capital's destruction, were not able to return to their homelands also moved to other Armenian cities. Our next step will be an attempt to determine from which countries, in addition to Palestine specified in the Armenian sources, Jews could have been brought to settle in Armenia.

8. The Countries from Which Tigran Could Have Expatriated Jews

There is an interesting quotation in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* (XIV.115) from a lost work by Strabo, saying that the "Jews are already gotten into all cities; and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by them"[77]. The authenticity of Josephus' citation can hardly be doubted. If Strabo, the well-informed geographer and one of the most reliable authors of the ancient world, had really, although somewhat hyperbolically, written this, then we may conclude that Tigran in fact could have deported Jews to Armenia from anywhere[78]. Josephus himself (*Antiquities* XI.132-133), speaking of the growth of the Jewish population in Babylonia and the neighboring countries following the Babylonian exile, witnesses that of the twelve Jewish tribes only two lived "in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans," and that the other ten, till his own days, lived beyond

[77] For this passage by Strabo and other similar evidence in Greco-Roman sources, see COHEN, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*, p. 75-76.

[78] According to Salo W. Baron's estimate, "over 4,000,000 Jews lived within the boundaries of the Roman Empire outside Palestine. There must have been at least 1,000,000 more in Babylonia and other countries of dispersion not subjected to Roman rule. A Jewish world population of 8,000,000 is, therefore, fully within the range of probability," so "every fifth 'Hellenistic' inhabitant of the eastern Mediterranean world was a Jew": S.W. BARON, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Ancient Times*, second edition, revised and enlarged, vols. 1-2, New York, 1952 (= BARON, *A Social and Religious History*), vol. 1, p. 170-171. See also FELDMAN, *Jew and Gentile*, p. 293.

(πέραν), i. e. east, of the Euphrates River[79], "an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers"[80]. The core of Tigran's huge kingdom was northeast of the Euphrates but, before the war with Lucullus in 69 BC, as we saw above, he had also attached to it vast territories west of the Euphrates as far as Phoenicia and, possibly, Palestine. Thus, Jews could have been shifted to Armenia from both sides of the famous river, which was an important boundary for classical authors. More specifically, we can point to several countries possessed by the Armenian king, where, judging from the surviving sources, considerable numbers of ethnic Jews and Jewish converts lived at the time of his conquests.

The first in our list will be Adiabene, a petty country neighboring with Armenia Major on the latter's southern border and occupying most of the territory of the former Assyria. Its capital Arbela yielded to Tigran between the years 89-85 BC (see above). Josephus' story about the conversion of Izates, king of Adiabene, and his family to Judaism (*Antiquities*, XX.17ff.) is well-known and corroborated by the Talmud[81]. It took place in the first half of the first century AD, i. e., about a century or so after Tigran's death. However, scholars state that a strong Jewish community existed in Adiabene long before the royal family was proselytized[82]. Since the Babylonian exile, the Jewish population of Babylonia had increasingly grown[83], spreading, in the course of time, towards Upper Mesopotamia. "Even before the conversion," Feldman writes, "the Jewish population of Adiabene was probably not inconsiderable, especially because it included the newly acquired Nisibis, with its sizable Jewish population"[84].

Mygdonia, with its capital Nisibis, as indicated above, was another Mesopotamian country subjected by Tigran. It remained as a part of the

[79] Neusner (NEUSNER, *Jews in Pagan Armenia*, p. 233-234) even supposes, based on the Targum, that "the Ten Tribes were exiled to a point near the borders of Armenia," from where further migration into Armenia could have taken place. The Targum, he states, understands Ararat in Genesis 8:4, Isaiah 37:38 and Jeremiah 51:27 to be Gordyene, not Armenia, but, on the other hand, the Targum on Amos 4:3 says that the Ten Tribes or some of them would be exiled to Armenia, and the Targum on Micah 7:12 mentions Armenia as the place from where the exiles would return.

[80] αἱ δὲ δέκα φυλαὶ πέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτου ἕως δεῦρο, μυριάδες ἄπειροι καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι μὴ δυνάμεναι.

[81] FELDMAN, *Jew and Gentile*, p. 129.

[82] H. KOESTER, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vols. 1 (*History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*) and 2 (*History and Literature of Early Christianity*), New York – Berlin, 1987 (translated from the German edition of 1962) (= KOESTER, *Introduction*), vol. 1, p. 222.

[83] BARON, *A Social and Religious History*, p. 168 and FELDMAN, *Jew and Gentile*, p. 328.

[84] *Ibidem*, p. 330.

Armenian kingdom until the Parthian king Artabanus presented it to Izates (Josephus, *Antiquities* XX.68). Josephus speaks of the Jewish population of Nisibis in *Antiquities* XVIII.311-313 and XVIII.378-379, saying that those Jews had settled in that strong city on the Euphrates to be safe from the attacks of the Babylonians and Seleucids (other Jews, for the same reason, had settled in another well-defended city on the Euphrates, Nehardea).

Among the ancient countries inhabited by Jews as a result of the exile to Babylon, scholars also mention Osroene (especially its capital Edessa)[85], Gordyene[86] and Iberia[87]. The Jewish population of Syria was especially numerous. Philo of Alexandria (15-10 BC — 45-50 AD) testifies (*Legatio ad Gaium* XXXIII.245)[88] that there were multitudes of Jews "in every city of Asia and Syria" (Ἰουδαῖοι καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν εἰσὶ παμπληθεῖς, Ἀσίας τε καὶ Συρίας). There is also evidence in Josephus' *War* that many Jews were residents of Syrian cities. Even Petronius, the Roman governor of Syria, Philo says, had become an adherent of Judaism[89]. We mentioned above the very interesting passage, where Josephus narrates about the two hostile camps in Syrian cities, Syrians and Jews (together with the Judaizers). Apparently, Jews were in Syria long before the events described by Josephus. In another passage (VII.43-44), he writes that the Seleucid king Antiochus Epiphanes' (175-164 BC) successors had allowed a great number of Jews to settle in Antioch[90]. In 84/83 BC, Tigran succeeded the Seleucid dynasty in Antioch and could well have deported Jews to Armenia from the Seleucid capital or from any other city of Upper Syria. Josephus' next testimony (*War*, II.559-561) pertains to another famous Syrian city, Damascus, which was within Tigran's dominion, and where his coins have been found[91]. Josephus, continuing his narration of the tragic events before the great revolt of the Jews against the Romans in the late 60s AD, reports that the Syrians of Damascus, too, organized a mass slaughter of the Jewish population of the city but were afraid of their own wives, almost all of whom had been won over to the Jewish religion[92].

[85] See KOESTER, *Introduction*, vol. 1, p. 222.

[86] See OBERMEYER, *Die Landschaft Babylonien*, S. 132.

[87] *The Wellspring of Georgian Historiography: the Early Medieval Historical Chronicle,* The Conversion of K'art'li *and* The Life of St. Nino, translated with introduction, commentary and indices by Constantine B. LERNER, London, 2004, p. 60-61.

[88] *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, ed. L. COHN, S. REITER, vol. 6, Berlin, 1915 (reprinted 1962), p. 155-223.

[89] Cf. FELDMAN, *Jew and Gentile*, p. 349.

[90] Cf. KOESTER, *Introduction*, vol. 1, p. 223 and JONES, *The Cities*, p. 244.

[91] *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 565.

[92] Cf. BARON, *A Social and Religious History*, vol. 1, p. 176-177.

Thus, in several countries which were part of Tigran's vast kingdom, there lived Jews in considerable numbers. The Armenian authors say the Jews living in the cities demolished by the Persians had come from Palestine because P'awstos and Movsēs knew that the homeland of the Jews was Palestine and because the Armenian tradition apparently was aware only of the military campaigns of 70 and 40 BC[93]. However, in view of the above considerations and of the data available in Greco-Roman sources, we may conclude that Jews could have been moved to Armenia at least from Adiabene, Mygdonia, Gordyene, Osroene, Iberia, and Syria as well.

9. The Eight Armenian Cities with Armenian-Jewish Population

Of the eight cities, the most ancient was Van (Tosp-Van)[94], the capital of the kingdom of Urartu (flourished in the 9th-7th cc. BC), located 2-3 kilometers east of Lake Van (now in eastern Turkey). It was called Tušpa in the Urartian times, and subsequently its name, in the form Tosp, was given to the district; from the late 6th century on, it was part of the Vaspurakan region. "Van" is probably derived from Biaina (Biainili), the Urartian name of the kingdom. Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 100-170 AD), in the description of Armenia Major in his *Geography* (V.12.3 and 8)[95], names both Lake Van and the district Θωσπῖτις and mentions the city as Θώσπια. Movsēs Xorenac'i (I.16) attributes the construction of Van to Semiramis, the legendary queen of Assyria, and provides a beautiful depiction of the place and the city. In the Achaemenian epoch, Van was the administrative center of the 13th satrapy and it continued, with its local and foreign dwellers, to flourish in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. P'awstos Buzand reports (IV.59) that at the time when Van was taken by Shāpūr's troops, it belonged to the Ṙštuni[96] noble family: "…The lady of Ṙštunik'," Buzand writes, "[remained] in the citadel of the fortress of Van" (afterwards she was cruelly executed). A stronghold

[93] Cf. the following passage in Movsēs Xorenac'i (II, 33): "the Jews who live in the provinces of Palestine."

[94] See H. HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, Strasburg, 1904 (reprinted Amsterdam, 1969) (= HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*), p. 340, 469; MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 61, 86-87, 157; *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 517; T'.X. HAKOBYAN, Հայաստանի պատմական աշխարհագրություն (*Historical Geography of Armenia*), 4th edition, Erevan, 1984 (= HAKOBYAN, *Historical Geography*), p. 168-170; *The Epic Histories*, p. 499; *Dictionary of Toponyms*, vol. 4 (1998), p. 748-751.

[95] *Claudii Ptolemaei* Geographia, ed. C. MÜLLER, vol. 1, Paris, 1901.

[96] Let us remember that the commander who, according to Xorenac'i, brought Jewish captives and settled them in Van, was from the Ṙštuni family.

with an unassailable citadel in the middle, located in the central part of Armenia Major and connected with the rest of the country by a net of routes, Van remained an important urban center throughout the history of Armenia and survives as a minor town mainly inhabited by Kurds till the present day; much of Van, however, is now ruins.

The history of Armawir[97], too, goes back to Urartu. It was probably built some time after the fall of the kingdom[98], on the remains of the Urartian town Argištihinili founded by King Argišti I (reigned ca. 780-756 BC). Armawir was one of the two cities where, according to Movsēs Xorenac'i, Tigran settled the Jews taken captive before the siege of Ptolemaïs (70 BC). He attributes (I.12) its foundation to the legendary hero Aramayis (hence, the city's name). Ptolemy mentions Armawir (Ἀρμαουίρα) alongside Artašat (V.12.5), and, in fact, they were not far from each other. The archaeological site, as Gevorg Tirac'yan states, is located around a volcanic height, "sur la rive gauche de l'Araxe, à l'ouest de la vallée l'Ayrarat"[99]. In the late 4th — late 3rd centuries Armawir was the royal capital of the Eruandid dynasty[100] (succeeded by the Artašesids in the early 2nd century BC). The last representative of the Eruandids, called Eruand (Orontes), is mentioned by Strabo (XI.14.15): "…The last was Orontes, the descendant of Hydarnes[101], one of the seven Persians." He reigned in the late 3rd — early 2nd centuries BC and, as Xorenac'i witnesses (II.39 and 49)[102], transferred the royal residence, together with the Jewish captives, from Armawir to his new-founded capital Eruandašat. Based on the Greek inscriptions found in Armawir in 1911 and 1927, Manandyan has come to the conclusion[103] that Greek colonists, together with Armenians, lived in the city in the early Hellenistic period and that there was a temple of Apollo and

[97] For detailed information on Armawir, see G. TIRAC'YAN, *Armawir*, in *Revue des études arméniennes*, NS 27 (1998-2000) (= TIRAC'YAN, *Armawir*), p. 134-300. From 1970 until his death in 1993, Tirac'yan had supervised the archaeological excavations in Armawir. See also MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 29-32; *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 517-518; *Dictionary of Toponyms*, vol. 1 (1986), p. 467-468.

[98] Presumably, in the fifth-fourth centuries BC: TIRAC'YAN, *Armawir*, p. 174.

[99] *Ibidem*, p. 136.

[100] *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 503-516.

[101] One of Darius I's (reigned 522-486 BC) allies who made him king (see Herodotus III.70).

[102] According to his erroneous chronological system, Xorenac'i thinks that Eruand lived after Tigran II, but one need not doubt the essence of his information, namely, that there had been Jewish settlers in Armawir, who later on had been moved to Eruandašat. Those settlers could have come to Armawir, like the Greeks, before the last Eruand, or else they could have been deported by Tigran to Armawir and afterwards transferred to Eruandašat by another king.

[103] MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 29-31.

Artemis in Armawir (this is corroborated by Xorenac'i: I.20; II.8, 12, 40 and 49), where Greek priests served. Thus, the city of Armawir had been used to foreign dwellers long before Tigran settled the Jews there. Following the transfer of the capital by the last Eruand, Armawir gradually lost its significance though it existed as a city until the 5th century AD.

Naxčawan (Naxiǰewan)[104] was an ancient city, but there is no clear evidence in the sources about the time of its foundation. Its name meaning "first haven" is connected with the myth that after the Flood Noah had landed there and founded the city. If we believe Movsēs Xorenac'i (I.30), a great number of captive Medes were settled there as early as in the 6th century BC[105]. Naxčawan was a commercial center situated on the trade route from Ecbatana to Artašat; it was slightly north of the Araxes River, southeast of Artašat. In Ptolemy's *Geography* (V.12.5), it is named Ναξουάνα and mentioned alongside Armawir and Artašat. In the Middle Ages, it was included either in the Vaspurakan or in the Siwnik' regions of Armenia. P'awstos Buzand (IV.55) says that the Persians "ruined it" (*զնա քանդեցին*) but does not add, like in the case of the other cities, that it was "demolished to its foundations." Perhaps Naxčawan was significantly damaged but not completely destroyed. Existing as a village until the seventh century, it regained its city's status in the period of Arab rule. Subsequently, Naxčawan was ruined or plundered several times (by the Seljuks, the Mongols et al.), but it still survives, as the main town of the Naxiǰewan region (now part of Azerbaijan).

Eruandašat[106], another ancient Armenian metropolis, was built, as already noted, in the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC by King Eruand the Last. "Eruandašat" is explained as "Eruand + *šād*," the latter meaning "joy" in Middle Persian ("Eruand's joy"). Eruand transferred the court from Armawir to Eruandašat, but shortly after that this new royal residence had to cede its status to Artašat[107]. Strabo's reference to the last

[104] HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 346, 455; MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 85, 87, 116, 140-141, 183, 185-186, 199, 215; *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 542, 808-809, 813; HAKOBYAN, *Historical Geography*, p. 175; *The Epic Histories*, p. 482; *Dictionary of Toponyms*, vol. 3 (1991), p. 951-953.

[105] Possibly, those Medes or some of them were later on converted to Judaism.

[106] HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 363, 426; MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 24, 30-31, 61, 85, 97, 166; *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 515-516, 519; HAKOBYAN, *Historical Geography*, p. 117-118; *The Epic Histories*, p. 462-463; *Dictionary of Toponyms*, vol. 2 (1988), p. 249-251.

[107] Artašat was built soon after the battle of Magnesia (190 BC), where the Seleucid king Antiochus III the Great (reigned 223-187 BC) was defeated by the Romans; Armenia Major became an independent state no longer subject to the Seleucid rule, and Artašēs I ascended the throne in 189 BC: cf. Strabo, XI.14.15.

Eruand was cited above. His name also figures in the Greek inscription discovered in Armawir in 1927[108]. Manandyan rightly supposes that the official language of the Eruandid elite was Greek[109]. Eruandašat, like Armawir, was probably an international city of the Hellenistic type. It was situated in the Aršaruni district of the Ayrarat region, west of Armawir and not far from it. Movsēs Xorenac'i is the best source for Eruandašat. He narrates about the change of the capital as follows (II.39): "In his (Eruand's) days the court was transferred from the hill called Armawir, for the River Araxes had shifted to a distance, and in the long winter and when the stream froze over from the bitter north winds there was no longer sufficient water for the capital. Inconvenienced by this and also seeking a stronger site, Eruand moved the court westward to a rocky hill around which flowed on one side the Araxes and on the other the Akhurean." Eruandašat was still prosperous in the mid-4th century AD, but its destruction by the Persians in 368/9 turned out to be final. It existed as a village until its complete disappearance in the Middle Ages: the last traces of human activity found there are from the 13th century. Recently, archaeological research has started at the supposed place of the city.

Artašat[110] was the most renowned Armenian city in the Hellenistic world. Founded by King Artašēs (Ἀρταξίας) I (reigned 189-160 BC), it replaced the former capitals Armawir and Eruandašat. The name Artašat (Ἀρταξάτα) means "Artaši + *šād*" ("Artašēs' joy"). Judging from the data available in literary sources, as well as from the archaeological finds, it was a typical Hellenistic city with multinational population. Pliny the Elder (ca. 23-79 AD) in his *Natural History* (VI.10.27)[111] locates the city "on a plain adjoining the Araxes" (*in campis iuxta Araxen*). Xorenac'i writes that it was built at "the place where the Araxes and Metsamawr join" (II.49), but since the latter river's course has changed, the location of Artašat remained unclear until about 1970, when archaeological excavations began in the Ararat region, not far from the Xorvirap church in the district formerly called Ostan "Big City" (recently, those excavations have been renewed)[112]. Strabo

[108] MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 29-30.

[109] *Ibidem*.

[110] HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 362, 408-409; MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 38-40, 85-87, 92-94; *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 539-542; HAKOBYAN, *Historical Geography*, p. 136-138; *The Epic Histories*, p. 448; *Dictionary of Toponyms*, vol. 1, p. 493-494.

[111] *Plinii Secundi* Naturalis historiae, ed. Karl F.Th. MAYHOFF (*Bibliotheca Teubneriana*), Lipsiae, 1906.

[112] For the recent archaeological finds in Artašat, see Ž. XAČ'ATRYAN, Մոնումենտալ կառույցի մնացորդներ և ուշագրավ ծեսով թաղում Արտաշատից (*Remains of a Monumen-*

(XI.14.6) states that Artašat "was founded by Hannibal for Artaxias the king." Plutarch (*Lucullus* XXXI.4) gives more details: Hannibal found refuge in Artašēs' palace.[113] Seeing an appropriate and fitting place for a new city, he made a preliminary plan and persuaded the Armenian king to start the construction work. Artašēs gladly agreed and asked Hannibal to supervise the builders. Thus a "a great and very beautiful city" (μέγα τι καὶ πάγκαλον χρῆμα πόλεως) was constructed, to which Artašēs gave his own name and made it the capital of Armenia. We know from Tacitus (56-ca. 120 AD), *Annales*, XIII.41 and Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, LXII.xx.1, that in 58 AD Artašat was taken and subsequently burned and demolished by the legions of the Roman commander Domitius Corbulo (died 67 AD). When in 66 AD Trdat (Tiridates) I (66-ca. 88 AD), the Parthian king Vologeses I's (reigned ca. 51-80 AD) brother, received the crown of Armenia from Nero's hands, the Emperor also gave him permission, money and workers to rebuild Artašat. For a short time, the reconstructed city was called Νερώνεια in honor of Nero (Cassius Dio, LXIII.i.2-7; ii). Situated on a significant trade route to the ports of the Black Sea, Artašat was of commercial importance. With some interruptions, it probably remained the main metropolis of Armenia until about the second half of the 5th century, when Duin became the capital of the country. Xorenac'i writes (III.8) that the inhabitants of the city gladly moved to Duin because at that time the climate around Artašat was unhealthy. After that, Artašes' city is no longer mentioned as an urban center.

There are but few data in the sources about the cities Zarehawan[114] and Zarišat[115]. Supposedly, both were built, like Artašat, in the time of Artašēs I and, possibly, bore the name of his father Zareh (Ζαρίαδρις)[116]: "Zareh + *awan*" (*awan* meaning "settlement" or "town" in

tal Building and Burial with Interesting Ritual from Artašat), in *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 2005, No. 2, p. 218-239.

[113] Escaping from the Romans and then from his compatriots, the famous Carthaginian general had been hosted by Antiochus III the Great. According to Plutarch, he made his abode in Armenia following Antiochus' final defeat by the Romans (in the battle of Magnesia).

[114] See HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 427-428; MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 61, 86-87, 97, 166; *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 542, 574, 657; HAKOBYAN, *Historical Geography*, p. 64, 80, 122; *The Epic Histories*, p. 503-504; *Dictionary of Toponyms*, vol. 2, p. 277.

[115] See HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 428; MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 61, 86-87; *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 542, 574, 657; HAKOBYAN, *Historical Geography*, p. 80, 156; *The Epic Histories*, p. 504; *Dictionary of Toponyms*, vol. 2, p. 280.

[116] In his Aramaic inscriptions, Artašēs I calls himself "son of Zareh": see, for example, A. PÉRIKHANIAN, *Les inscriptions araméennes du roi Artashès*, in *Revue des études arméniennes*, NS 8 (1971), p. 169-174.

Armenian) — "Zareh's town" and "Zareh + *šād*" — "Zareh's joy." In Manadyan's opinion, Zarehawan was situated in the Bagrewand district, south of Eruandašat and northeast of Lake Van close to the main trade route of Armenia passing by Tigranakert and Artašat. Zarišat was situated southeast of Zarehawan, not far from the northeastern shore of Lake Van. Apparently, both were Hellenistic cities with mixed population. The numbers of the inhabitants taken captive (see above) suggest that Zarehavan was smaller than Zarišat. This is also corroborated by the fact that P'awstos Buzand (IV.55) calls Zarišat "a great city" (*գքաղաքն մեծ*) while he mentions Zarehawan as simply "a city" (*գքաղաքն*). Movsēs Xorenac'i (III.23) speaks of "the royal city of Zarišat" (*յարքունական քաղաքին Զարիշատի*) in the days of King Aršak II, which means that in the mid-4th century Zarišat belonged to the Armenian Arsacids. Destroyed by the Persians, both cities subsequently declined to the status of villages.

Vałaršapat[117], as the name itself ("Vałarš + *âbâd*," the latter meaning "settled" in Pahlavi: "settled by Vałarš") suggests, was founded by Vałarš: King Vałarš (Vologeses) I of Armenia, who reigned 117-140 AD. According to Movsēs Xorenac'i (II.16 and II.65), Vałaršapat previously was a town called *աւանն Վարդքեսի* ("Vardgēs' town"). It had been built in the days of the first Eruand (i.e., in the 6th century BC). Vałarš "surrounded it with walls," and it was in Vałaršapat that the "first colony of Jewish captives" was settled. As a result of this synoicism, "it became a commercial town" (II.65). In 163 AD, the Romans declared Vałaršapat the capital of Armenia and renamed it Καινὴ πόλις ("New City" — *Նոր քաղաք* in Armenian sources). Though Vałaršapat's status of the capital was not permanent, it remained, surviving the destruction by the Persians, as one of the most important Armenian cities until the Arab invasion in the mid-7th century AD. In the 4th-5th centuries AD, Vałaršapat was the religious and cultural center of the country. Agat'angełos refers to it as "the residence of the Armenian kings" in the province of Ayrarat (§ 122). This concerns the time of Trdat III the Great (293-ca. 330 AD) in whose reign, in the early 4th century, Christianity became the official religion of the Armenian state. Vałaršapat is also closely associated with another crucial event in the

[117] See HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 279, 456, 469; MANANDYAN, *On the Trade: Studies*, vol. 6, p. 61-62, 78, 82-86; *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 1, p. 519, 539, 657, 779, 784-785, 787-789, 808; HAKOBYAN, *Historical Geography*, p. 130-133; *The Epic Histories*, p. 498-499; *Dictionary of Toponyms*, vol. 2, p. 350-352; *Քրիստոնյա Հայաստան (Հանրագիտարան)* (*Christian Armenia* [*Encyclopedia*]), Erevan, 2002, p. 952-956.

history of Armenia, the invention of the Armenian script in the early 5th century AD. During the Arab rule in the mid-7th-9th centuries, the city lost its significance, existing as an abandoned, partly ruined village, to be once again revived by the Bagratid kings in the 9th century. Other disastrous periods in the city's life were the Seljuk (from the mid-11th century) and Mongol (from the first quarter of the 13th century) conquests, but Vałaršapat was restored to its former status of the religious center of Armenia in 1441, when the Patriarchal See was transferred there from Sis (Cilicia). Since then, Vałaršapat, more commonly named Ēǰmiacin ("the Only Begotten descended")[118], is the residence of the Catholicos of All Armenians. Today, situated about 20 kilometers west of Erevan, it is a pleasant town with many sacred places and historical monuments.

As it is clear from the foregoing, for some of the cities in question, the Persian invasion of 368/9 was the end. Others (especially Van, Vałaršapat and Naxčawan) were rebuilt and rehabilitated, so that they figured as important urban centers in later times and indeed survive as towns to the present day.

10. Herod the Great's Descendents on the Throne of Armenia

Following the death of Tigran IV, the last Artašesid king of Armenia, in his battle against "barbarians" in 1 AD and the abdication of his sister and wife, Queen Erato[119], Rome and Parthia competed with one another for their protégés to govern the country. This situation lasted until the year 66 AD, when Trdat I received the kingdom and the Parthian Arsacids were firmly established on the throne of Armenia. Before that, two kings of Herodian descent are reported to have ruled in Armenia Major for short periods of time and a third king of Herodian lineage to have been appointed king of Armenia Minor, where his reign was probably quite long. Those two kings bore the dynastic names Tigran V and Tigran VI, and the king of Armenia Minor was called Aristobulus.

The main sources for Tigran V are the bilingual Greek-Latin *Monumentum Ancyranum*, also known as *Res gestae divi Augusti* (37)[120],

[118] According to a famous legend, Jesus Christ appeared to Gregory the Illuminator in Vałaršapat and showed him the place where the "Mother Church" was to be built.

[119] See Cassius Dio LV.xa.5. Probably, by "barbarians" Dio means Caucasian highlanders (MANANDYAN, *A Critical Survey*: *Studies*, vol. 1, p. 293). Erato again reigned briefly in Armenia after 6 AD, when Tigran V was dethroned: MANANDYAN, *A Critical Survey*: *Studies*, vol. 1, p. 295, 297; cf. also Tacitus, *Annales* II.4.

[120] *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. Ernst DIEHL, 3rd edition, Bonn, 1918.

Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* XVIII.139; *War* I.552; II.222), and Cornelius Tacitus (*Annales* VI.40)[121]. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, Augustus Caesar (emperor from 31 BC to 14 AD), among his noteworthy deeds, mentions the installation of the Mede Ariobarzanes as king of Armenia, after whose death he gave the kingdom to Ariobarzanes' son Artavazdes. When the latter was killed, he sent Tigranes, "who was descended from the royal family of the Armenians" (*qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus* - ὃς ἦν ἐκ γένους Ἀρμενίου βασιλικοῦ) to that kingdom. Ariobarzanes was from the royal family of Atropatene. He reigned for about 2 years (2-4 AD) and, as Tacitus relates (*Annales* II.4), died accidentally. His son Artavazdes (known as Artawazd IV), too, was king for about 2 years (4-6 AD): he was killed, probably by Armenians, and Tigran V became king (6 AD)[122]. His rule was even shorter, less than one year[123]. The reign of the two Medes and Tigran V was apparently not welcomed by the Armenian elite. Augustus Caesar notes that Tigran was from the Armenian royal family, but from Josephus' information it is clear that Tigran could have been an Artašesid only on his mother's side. "Alexander, the son of Herod the king," Josephus writes (*Antiquities* XVIII.139-140), "who was slain by his father… had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus[124], king of Cappadocia. Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless." Thus, Josephus explicitly says that this Tigran (undoubtedly, Tigran V) was Herod the Great's (reigned 37-4 BC) grandson and son of Alexander, whose wife was from the Cappadocian royal family (her name was Glaphyra)[125]. Manandyan hypothesizes that Glaphyra, was the daughter of an Armenian Artašesid king[126]. This conjecture seems to be true, or else Augustus Caesar's testimony that Tigran was ἐκ γένους Ἀρμενίου βασιλικοῦ — *ex regio genere Armeniorum* would be baseless. However, Glaphyra herself

[121] The English citations are from *Complete Works of Tacitus*, translated by Alfred J. Church and William J. Brodribb, London, 1864-1877, reprinted New York, 1942.

[122] For these three kings, see also Manandyan, *A Critical Survey*: *Studies*, vol. 1, p. 293-297.

[123] Neusner (Neusner, *Jews in Pagan Armenia*, p. 234 and n. 12) erroneously mentions Tigran V as "Tigran IV" and, based on unknown sources, writes that this king reined in 10-26 AD. In the corresponding footnote, for Tigran V he refers to Josephus and Tacitus, *Annales* II.3, but in that passage Tacitus speaks of Artašes II's (reigned 30-20 BC) successor Tigran III (reigned 20-ca.8 BC), not of Tigran V.

[124] Archelaus was the king of Cappadocia from 36 BC to 17 AD. From 20 BC on, he also was the king of Armenia Minor: see Manandyan, *A Critical Survey*: *Studies*, vol. 1, p. 303.

[125] See, for example, *War* I.552: "Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Alexander."

[126] Manandyan, *A Critical Survey*: *Studies*, vol. 1, p. 295.

boasted about her pedigree "as being derived by her father's side from Temenus, and by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes" (*War* I.476). Temenus was the mythical ancestor of the Macedonian kings (Herodotus VIII. 137-138). This means that Glaphyra, if her boast was justified, could have been an Artašesid, like her son Tigran, only by her mother's lineage which she claimed went back to Darius I. Above we cited the evidence in Strabo, stating that the last Eruand was a descendent of Hydarnes, one of the "seven Persians," Darius I's allies. In his Aramaic inscriptions, Artašes I calls himself "Eruandian"[127], i. e., he and his descendents would trace their genealogy to Achaemenian nobility (Glaphyra preferred Darius I himself!). As to the further fate of Tigran V, Josephus witnesses that he "was accused at Rome and died childless." Furthermore, we know from Tacitus (*Annales* VI.40) that the accusation was fatal: "Even Tigranes, who had once ruled Armenia and was now impeached, did not escape the punishment of an ordinary citizen[128] on the strength of his royal title." He was executed, Tacitus reports, in the consulate of Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius (36 AD); thus Tigran V become one of Tiberius Caesar's victims. A unique copper coin, attributed to him, is kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France[129].

Alexander, Tigran V's father and Herod the Great's son, had a brother named Aristobulus (their mother was Mariamme, Herod's second wife). Fearing of a plot, Herod put Alexander and Aristobulus to death (*War* I.551). Aristobulus was married to Bernice, daughter of Herod the Great's sister Salome, and they had three sons. One of them was Herod, king of the petty kingdom of Chalcis in Syria, and it was this Herod's son, who bore his grandfather's name Aristobulus, that became king of Armenia Minor (Herod of Chalcis' wife, Aristobulus' mother, was called Mariamme). Information about him is found in Josephus (*Antiquites* VII.226-227; XX.158 and *War* II.221-222; 252) and Tacitus (*Annales* XIII.7 and XIV.26). In *War* II.221-222, Josephus speaks of his descent and family, and in *Antiquites* XX.158 and *War* II.252, he testifies that Nero (emperor from 54 to 68 AD) gave the kingdom of Armenia Minor to Aristobulus. This is confirmed by Tacitus (*Annales* XIII.7): "Lesser Armenia was entrusted to Aristobulus, Sophene to Sohaemus, each with the ensigns of royalty." This happened in the first year of

[127] In addition to "son of Zareh": see n. 116.

[128] "...Ne Tigranes... supplicia civium effugit."

[129] For this and other coins of the Artašesid dynasty, see P.Z. BEDOUKIAN, *A Classification of the Coins of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia*, in *Museum Notes*, 14 (1968), p. 41-66.

Nero's rule (*Antiquities* XX.158: πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ἔτει), more exactly, at the end of that year (*Annales* XIII.6: *fine anni*). Tacitus mentions him again when narrating the events of 60 AD (XIV.26). Probably, he was still the king of Armenia Minor. In addition, Nero gave him, as to other kings, his supporters, more parts (unspecified) of Armenia: those parts, "according to their respective proximities, were put under the subjection of Pharasmanes, Polemo, Aristobulus, and Antiochus." Finally, Aristobulus figures once more as king of Chalcis and ally of Rome, in Josephus' narrative (*War* VII.226-227) on the Roman general Petus' invasion to Commagene in the fourth year of Vespasian's reign, i. e., in 72 AD (Vespasian was emperor from 69 to 79 AD). This may mean that Aristobulus was no longer king of Armenia Minor, which, supposedly, had become a Roman province earlier in the same year[130]. In sum, Aristobulus ascended the throne of Armenia Minor in 54 AD and, presumably, governed there until circa 72 AD.

Tigran VI, son of Tigran V's brother Alexander, figures in the last stage (late 50s — mid-60s AD) of the conflict between Rome and Parthia in the 1st century AD for dominion over Armenia. It ended in 66 AD, when Trdat, brother of the Parthian king Vologeses I, was crowned in Rome and became the founder of the Aršakuni (Arsacid) dynasty of Armenia. Tigran VI was Nero's protégé and was strongly opposed by many Armenians (who preferred Trdat) and particularly by the powerful Parthians. Therefore, his reign (60-61 AD), like that of Tigran V, was short. Especially irritating to the Armenian pro-Parthian party and the Parthians themselves was his cruel and devastating attack in the spring of 61 AD against Adiabene, Armenia's immediate neighbor and part of Vologeses' kingdom. Shortly after that, he had to flee from the Parthian army and defend himself behind the walls of Tigranakert, to be soon removed from the throne by the Romans on Vologeses' demand, although the troops besieging Tigranakert could not take it. References to Tigran VI occur in Josephus (*Antiquities* XVIII.139) and Cassius Dio (LXII.xx.2-4), and considerable information about him is provided by Tacitus in the *Annales* (XIV.26; XV.1-6, 17)[131]. Tacitus describes Tigran's character quite negatively. Josephus, too, does not sympathize

[130] Manandyan conjectures (MANANDYAN, *A Critical Survey*: *Studies*, vol. 2, p. 12) that Armenia Minor was attached to the Roman Empire in the same year as Commagene (72 AD), but he says nothing about the probable sequence of events: since Josephus calls Aristobulus king of Chalcis, it is likely that he had been deprived of the kingdom of Armenia Minor before supporting the Romans in their incursion into Commagene. For Vespasian's military activities of the year 72 AD in Cilicia Tracheia, Commagene, and Cappadocia, see also Suetonius, *Vespasian* 8.4.

[131] See also MANANDYAN, *A Critical Survey*: *Studies*, vol. 1, p. 332-336, 346-347.

with him for a clear reason: Tigran was not an adherent of Judaism. "Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes," Josephus writes, "and he was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero." He adds that this younger Alexander also had a son called Alexander, and that the descendents of the elder Alexander, i. e., Tigran V, his brother Alexander and the latter's son Alexander, were Hellenized Jews: they, "soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks." Cassius Dio briefly relates the invasion of Adiabene by Tigran VI, the subsequent siege of Tigranakert by Vologeses' generals and, as a result of these events, the Parthian-Roman negotiations. Tacitus, narrating the same events in more detail, states that Armenia once again remained without a "master" (*arbiter*), because Tigran VI had to leave Armenia after his short and restless reign.

Summing up, let us try to "draw" the genealogy of the Herodian kings of the two Armenias:

Herod the Great (37-4 BC) and his second wife Mariamme

↓	↓
Alexander, married to Glaphyra (presumably, Armenian on her mother's side), daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (36 BC - 17 AD)	Aristobulus, married to Bernice, daughter of Herod the Great's
↓ ↓	↓
Tigran V, king of Armenia Major in 6 AD, executed in Rome in 36 AD / Alexander ↓ Tigran VI, king of Armenia Major in 60-61 AD	Herod ↓ Aristobulus, king of Armenia Minor in 54 - ca. 72 AD

11. Evidence for the Jewish Origin of Armenian Princely Families in Movsēs Xorenac'i

There is intriguing information in the *History of Armenia* by Movsēs Xorenac'i about the Jewish origin of one of the leading princely families of Armenia, the Bagratids (Bagratunis). It goes back to the distant past when King Nebuchadnezzar II (reigned ca. 605-ca. 561 BC) took Jerusalem and deported Jews to Babylonia. In Chapter I.22, based, as he says, on Mar Abas Catina[132], Xorenac'i tells the following. King Hrač'eay of

[132] Mar Abas, according to Movsēs (I.8), was a Syrian, "a diligent man versed in Chaldaean and Greek." His non-extant work was also used as a source in the anonymous

Armenia is permitted by Nebuchadnezzar to settle one of the captive Jewish leaders, called Šambat, in Armenia. Hrač'eay greatly honors him, and from this Šambat, Movsēs claims, "the Bagratuni family descends, and that is certain." Furthermore, Movsēs refutes the Armenian origin (from Hayk, the mythical ancestor of the Armenians) of the Bagratids supposed by others, calling such assertions "foolish" (*յիմար բանք*).

Then, in various parts of his *History*, Xorenac'i develops the story of the Bagratids being Jews, for which they were at times persecuted by Armenian kings. King "Vałaršak" (presumably, a king of Armenia in the early Parthian period or Trdat I), who had made the family of another Šambat Bagarat, a descendent of Nebuchadnezzar's contemporary, the coronants of the Armenian Arsacids and given them the name Bagratuni (II.3), begs him "with forceful words" to deny Judaism and worship idols. However, when Šambat refuses, the king tolerates his adherence to the Jewish religion (II.8).

Vałaršak's son and successor, Aršak, turns out to be more intolerant and cruel (II.9): "He persecuted the sons of Bagarat," Movsēs writes,"in an effort to make them worship idols. Two of them bravely died by the sword for their ancestral customs. I am not ashamed to call them followers of the companions of Anania and Eleazar[133]. But the others accepted this much only: to ride out to hunt or to war on the Sabbath and to leave their children uncircumcised when they would be born — for they were unmarried. And it was commanded by Arshak that they should not be given wives from any of the princely houses unless they made an oath to abandon circumcision. They accepted only these two conditions, but not the worship of idols." Then Xorenac'i states that this was the last part of his book based on Mar Abas Catina.

writing attached to the 7th century *History* attributed to Sebēos (Պատմութիւն *Սեբէոսի* [*Sebēos'* History], critical text, introduction and commentary by G. ABGARYAN, Erevan, 1979 [for Abgaryan's comment on that anonymous writing, see p. 224]; see also *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, translated, with notes, by R.W. THOMSON, historical commentary by J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, assistance from T. GREENWOOD; part I, Translation and Notes; part II, Historical Commentary, *Translated Texts for Historians* 31, Liverpool, 1999 and Thomson's English translation of Anonymous in the Appendix to MOSES KHORENATS'I, p. 357–368). In Anonymous, Mar Abas Catina is called Maraba Mcurnac'i. The existence of his writing, independently utilized by two authors, was deemed doubtful and rejected (see, e.g., A. CARRIÈRE, *Moïse de Khoren et les généalogies patriarcales*, Paris, 1891, p. 46, where the author concludes that Movsēs and Mar Abas are the same person) but subsequently acknowledged as a fact: G. SARGSYAN, *Մովսես Խորենացու Հայոց պատմության ժամանակագրական Համակարգը* (*The Chronological System of Movsēs Xorenac'i's* History of Armenia), Erevan, 1965, p. 13-15, 128-129, and *idem*, *Հելլենիստական դարաշրջանի Հայաստանը և Մովսես Խորենացին* (*Armenia in the Hellenistic Epoch and Movsēs Xorenac'i*), Erevan, 1966, p. 82-83).

[133] For Hananiah-Shadrach, who was saved by God when King Nebuchadnezzar threw him into a furnace, see Daniel 3:19-30; for the martyrdom of Eleazar, see 2 Maccabees 6:18-31.

Similar forceful actions against the Bagratids are taken by the "Middle Tigran" (presumably, Tigran II). When the Bagratids do not agree to offer sacrifices on the altars set up by Tigran in front of temples, he orders the tongue of one of them named Asud to be cut out. The other Bagratids agree to eat the meat from Tigran's sacrifices and even pork, though they decline to sacrifice and worship themselves. Therefore, the king's punishment is partial: they are deprived of the command of the army but remain the coronants of the Arsacids (II.14).

Another persecution of a Bagratid, this time, by another Armenian king figuring in Movsēs' book, Aršam, is referred to in Chapter II.24. This Bagratid is named Enanos. Movsēs narrates a story connected with the high priest Hyrcanus brought captive to Armenia, as he says, by the "Middle Tigran's" commander Barzap'ran Ṙštuni (see above). Aršam is exasperated at the coronant Enanos, who has freed Hyrcanus from captivity. Enanos tries to calm the king's anger, saying that Hyrcanus had promised a ransom of one hundred talents for his freedom. Enanos' brother, Senekia, is sent to Judaea to bring the money, but Herod kills Hyrcanus, and when Aršam learns that no ransom will arrive, he deprives Enanos of the coronant's rank and imprisons him. Then, executing one of Enanos' relatives, Saria, before his eyes, the king threatens also to kill Enanos' sons, Sap'atia and Azaria, if he does not abandon Judaism and worship the sun and idols. The frightened Enanos and all his family agree, and he is restored to the coronant's rank.

In Chapter II.33, Tobias ("Tubiay" in the Armenian original), "the Jewish prince, who, they say, was of the Bagratuni" family, is mentioned. He had escaped from Aršam's persecution and had not denied the Jewish religion "until his conversion to Christ." In Edessa, as Movsēs informs, the Apostle Thaddeus entered his house.

Finally, in Chapter II.63, telling a story about Trdat Bagratuni, "a spirited and powerful man, short in stature and ugly in appearance," Xorenac'i then lists some "Jewish" names of the Bagratids, which, according to him, had become "barbaric" (*խժական*) after they had renounced Judaism: Bagadia — Bagarat, Asud — Ašot, Vazaria — Varaz, and Šambat — Smbat[134].

[134] Hrač'ya AČAṘYAN (*Հայոց անձնանունների բառարան* [*Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names*], vols. 1-5, Erevan, 1942-1962) etymologizes those names as follows: "Bagarat" = Old Persian "Bagadāta," meaning "given or created by the god (Mithra)" (vol. 1 [1942], p. 355) (for references to this name in inscriptions, see G. TRAINA, *Des affranchis arméniens à Arretium?*, in V.I. ANASTASIADIS, P.N. DOUKELLIS (eds.), *Esclavage antique et discriminations socio-culturelles (Actes du XXVIII^e Colloque international du groupement international de recherche sur l'esclavage antique, Mytilène, 5-7 décembre 2003)*, Bern, 2005, p. 259-267); the origin of the Armenian "Ašot" is unknown: the name "Asud" deemed to be Jewish by Xorenac'i is otherwise unattested (vol. 1, p. 180 and 229); "Varaz" = Iranian "varāz" meaning "wild boar," from which

How should this evidence on the Jewish origin of the Bagratids be evaluated? It can be neither fully refuted nor accepted uncritically, because there are no reliable sources corroborating or contradicting what we are told by Movsēs. The claim that the Bagratids were Jews by birth was probably raised by the Bagratids themselves and, consequently, reflected in the work of the historiographer of their family, Movsēs Xorenac'i. Scholars have tried to find logical explanations of the issue, and the most interesting one has been suggested by Nicholas Adonc' (Adonz)[135] based on Joseph Markwart's[136] remarks. That explanation is derived from the testimony in Appian's *Syrian Wars* (VIII.48-49) about Tigran II, that he "conquered all of the Syrian peoples this side of the Euphrates as far as Egypt. He took Cilicia at the same time (for this was also subject to the Seleucids) and put his general, Magadates, in command of all these conquests for fourteen years." From the two *variae lectiones* in the manuscripts of Appian's work, Μαγαδάτης and Βαγαδάτης, the latter, according to Markwart and Adonc', is the correct one. Βαγαδάτης is the initial form of the Armenian name *Բագրատ* (Bagarata from Bagaδata[137]: "given by god" — *baga-* and *data* = the Greek Θεόδοτος), before the interchange of the consonants δ > r. Tigran's general bearing that name, Adonc' believes, undoubtedly was the ancestor of the Bagratids. Furthermore, since he was appointed governor of Syria inhabited by Semites, this may explain the alleged Jewish pedigree of the coronant family. As an additional argument for this supposition, Adonc' refers to the anonymous writing attached to Sebēos' *History*[138], where the province Angeł tun (Angelene), in the south of Armenia, towards the Syrian border, is mentioned as the domain of the Bagratids.

Cyril Toumanoff, in accordance with his negative attitude toward Xorenac'i as a source, is mistrustful of the evidence in question[139].

"Gurāz" ("Gouras") is derived (see n. 66), and the origin of "Vazaria" is unknown (vol. 5 [1962], p. 5 and 62: Ačaŕyan does not equate "Vazaria" with the Hebrew "Azariāh," the Armenian equivalent of which is "Azaria," p. 54); "Šambat" = Syrian "Šabbəθā," from which also the Armenian "Šabat'" ("Saturday") is derived (vol. 4 [1948], p. 137).

[135] N. Adonc', *Армения в эпоху Юстиниана: политическое состояние на основе нахарарского строя* (*Armenia in the Epoch of Justinian: the Political Situation Based on the Naxarar System*), St. Petersburg, 1908 (reprinted in 1971), p. 411-413. The book has also been published in English: N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian: the Political Conditions Based on the Naxarar System*, edited and translated by N.G. Garsoïan, Louvain, 1970.

[136] J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin, 1901 (= Marquart, *Ērānšahr*), S. 174.

[137] Cf. in n. 134.

[138] See n. 132.

[139] C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, Georgetown, 1963 (= Toumanoff, *Studies*), p. 327-328.

Again based on Markwart, he states that "Pseudo-Moses must have been struck by a series of near-homophones in Josephus," namely, by the mention of Ananus, son of Bagadus in the *War* (V.531) and of Archelaus, son of Magadates, figuring together with him in another passage (VI.229), contemporaries of Titus, as well as of Ananelus (*Antiquities* XV.22), upon whom Herod the Great bestowed the high priesthood after killing Hyrcanus. Correlating these names with the memories of Bagadates, Viceroy of Syria, Xorenac'i must have "evolved a composite and imaginary personage," Enanos the Bagratid. But this conjecture of Markwart, repeated by Toumanoff, is hardly convincing. Of Josephus' works, Movsēs knew only the *War*[140]. He was not familiar with the *Antiquities* and, consequently, he could not have known Ananelus. Besides, the story about Enanos has almost no parallels with that narrated by Josephus about Ananelus. As to Ananus, according Josephus' characterization, "the most bloody of all Simon's guards" (τῶν Σίμωνος δορυφόρων ὁ φοινικώτατος), and Magadates, the father of Ananus' companion Archelaus, contemporaries of Titus (emperor of Rome in 79-81 AD), they have nothing to do with Enanos, who, if we believe Xorenac'i, had freed from captivity the high priest Hyrcanus (put to death by Herod in 30 BC) and was persecuted by Aršam. Further, Toumanoff refers to another remark of Markwart: the Bagratid *praenomina* that Movsēs derives from "the Hebrew names Bagadia (Bagath), Shambat or Shambay, Asud, Azaria or Vazaria," are "typically Iranoid." In his turn, Toumanoff adds that the Hebrew claim was later on adopted and, in a much embellished form, developed by the Iberian cousins of the Armenian Bagratids. This observation of Toumanoff suggests that the theory was quite widespread and could hardly have been simply invented by Movsēs[141].

Neusner[142] tries to find a scintilla of truth in Xorenac'i's stories, though he states that "we have no basis whatever on which to evaluate their historical reliability." He associates the name Šambat, from which Movsēs derives Smbat, the beloved name of the Bagratunis, with the Levitical Shabbethai (Nehemiah 8:7 and 11:16) = the Greek Σαββάθαι. Then Neusner explains the passage about Tigran II forcing the Bagratid prince to abandon Judaism by his need for the alliance of a powerful

[140] Ž. ĒLČ'IBEKYAN, Հովսեպոս Փլավիոսը Մովսես Խորենացու աղբյուր (*Josephus Flavius as a Source of Movsēs Xorenac'i*), in *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri*, 1975, No. 5, p. 71-82.

[141] Toumanoff himself thinks that "if not *by* Pseudo-Moses, this theory must have been developed *at the time of* Pseudo-Moses"; in his opinion, Xorenac'i was a late 8th century author: see C. TOUMANOFF, *On the Date of Pseudo-Moses of Chorene*, in *Handēs Amsōreay*, 75 (1961), p. 467-475.

[142] NEUSNER, *Jews in Pagan Armenia*, p. 236-239.

Jewish satrap when he was about to conquer Syria: nothing would secure the faithfulness of Tigran's ally better than the satrap's readiness to worship the local gods. It was important for the Armenians, who were new Christians, Neusner states, also to participate in Israelite history "in the flesh, as they did after the spirit." This is why the Jewish claim of one of the leading princely families was willfully accepted and propagated.

Robert Thomson[143] regards Movsēs' information as complete fraud perpetrated for certain purposes. The name Bagarat itself, according to Thomson, Xorenac'i has derived "from the P'ak'arat of Nehemiah 7:59," one of Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish captives, "and the name Shambat he has invented to account for Smbat, a Bagratid personal name common in his own day." Movsēs' purposes were, first, to corroborate the Bagratid's claim to ancient pedigree and social prominence (Šambat, freed by Nebuchadnezzar, "enjoying an honorable position a thousand years before the time Moses claims to be writing"). Further, by the stories about the kings making vain efforts to force the Bagratids worship idols, the religious steadfastness of the Bagratids is established. Finally, by the mention of Tobias converted to Christianity in Edessa by Thaddeus, Movsēs emphasizes that his Bagratuni patrons have a more ancient claim to an association with the first apostles than the other leading princely family of Armenia, the Mamikonids, though the latter had married into the house of Gregory the Illuminator.

From this brief summary of views expressed on the issue, the above statement becomes clearer: Xorenac'i's narrative about "Bagratids the Jews" can only be treated by mere reasoning, without any supporting, confirming or refuting, exact data from other sources, because such data are not available. Scholars have made speculative remarks congruent to their own purposes and their general attitude toward the historiographer of the Bagratuni family. While Markwart and especially Adonc', in accordance with their moderateness, have attempted to suggest possible explanations without any Tendenz, Toumanoff and Thomson have assessed the relevant passages in the context of their overall criticism of Movsēs' work, and Neusner, since he wanted to prove that Jews were living in pagan Armenia, has in certain cases believed Xorenac'i's stories. In the end, it is impossible to draw a final conclusion, and no one can be sure of the Jewish or Armenian descent of the Bagratids.

[143] Moses Khorenats'i, p. 29-31.

This is also true regarding Movsēs' testimony on another noble family of Armenia, the Amatunis,[144] to whom, too, he ascribes Jewish origin (II.57): "…The family of the Amatunik' came from the eastern regions of the land of the Aryans. But they are by origin Jewish, descended by a certain Manue,[145] whose son was… called Samson, as is the Jewish custom to call [children] after the names of their ancestors… They were taken there by Arshak, the first king of the Parthians, and in the land of the Aryans, in the regions of Hamadan, they were promoted to a position of honor. What the reasons for their coming here might be, I do not know… And some Persians call them Manuean after the name of their ancestor"[146]. Hamadan (Ahmatan in Xorenac'i) is Ecbatana[147], the capital of Media, where, as Movsēs believes, the Amatuni family had been settled in the early Parthian period, and later on, when Trajan was emperor of Rome (cf. II.55)[148], for an unknown reason, had migrated to Armenia. Neusner[149] has attempted to identify the Amatunis with the royal family of Adiabene converted to Judaism (see above). He is sure that Manue "obviously" is the Armenian form of Monobazes (more correctly, Monobazus — Μονοβάζος) "which exists also in Parthian; the Parthian form is $M^aN^aW^aZ$." Consequently, Neusner, asserts, Manue and Monobazes, the father of King Izates, or Izates' brother, also called Monobazes, could have been the same person. After Trajan's invasion, the descendants of Manue-Monobazes possibly had to flee to the east, to Ecbatana, the summer capital of the Parthians, and then to take refuge in Armenia. Neusner's hypothesis is interesting but hardly persuasive[150]. He gives no explanation of how the biblical name Manue (Manoah, Μανωε), the name of Samson's father, as Movsēs explicitly says, could be the Armenian form of Monobazes. Besides, Xorenac'i clearly notes that the Amatunis were settled "in the regions of Hamadan" by Aršak I (247-217 BC), the founder of the Parthian kingdom, and not in the time of Trajan's eastern campaign, when, after having lived in their former

[144] Toumanoff (TOUMANOFF, *Studies*, p. 197) characterizes them as follows: "The Princes Amatuni were a Caspio-Median, or Mannaean, dynastic house from Artaz, with the city of Shavarshan (later Maku, in northeastern Vaspurakan), situated between lakes Van and Urmia (Mantiane), which subsequently ruled a State in Aragatsotn, in Ayrarat, on the western shore of lake Sevan, centred in the castle of Oshakan."

[145] For Manue (Manoah), Samson's father, cf. Judges 13.

[146] MOSES KHORENATS'I, p. 199-200 and n. 2 on p. 199.

[147] H. HÜBSCHMANN, *Armenische Grammatik*, Erster Teil: *Armenische Etymologie*, Leipzig, 1897 (reprinted Hildesheim, 1962), S. 17.

[148] I. e., in 98-117 AD.

[149] J. NEUSNER, *Jews in Pagan Armenia*, p. 239-240.

[150] Neusner himself says to have offered his conjecture "very hesitantly."

homeland for centuries, they came to Armenia. Thus, unfortunately, as in the case of the Bagratids, the question of whether or not the legend about the Jewish extraction of the Amatunis contains any historical truth remains open.

13. Jews Converted to Christianity in Armenia

We have already mentioned above the Bagratid Tobias, who, according to Xorenac'i (II.33), had become Christian in the days of Thaddeus the Apostle. In addition to this converted Jew, he refers to many others in Chapter III.35[151]. Witnessing to the invasion of the Persian troops into Armenia (ca. 368/9) and the destruction of three cities, Movsēs reports that they took captive the "Jews living by the same Jewish law in Van Tosp whom Barzap'ran Ṙštuni had brought there in the days of Tigran," as well as "the Jews in Artashat and Vałarshapat whom the same king Tigran had brought there and who in the days of Saint Gregory and Trdat had believed in Christ." The Jews from Van, who had not abandoned their ancestral laws, were settled in Isfahan[152]. As to the others who, as Xorenac'i states, had embraced Christianity, he does not specify the place where they were taken by Shāpūr's army. Instead, he adds another piece of information, about a Jew converted to Christianity, Zuit'ay, the elder (*եpէg*) of Artašat."He is slandered before Shāpūr that"he had come with the captives to urge them to adhere firmly to the Christian religion."Shāpūr orders to torture Zuit'ay so that he renounces his faith, but the elder refuses and is martyred.

The same person, Zuit' by name, also figures in P'awstos' *History* (IV.55-57), in connection with the same events, the conquest of the Armenian cities by the Persians when Armenians and Jews were taken captive. The Persians suggest him going away, but elder of Artašat answers, "it is not fitting that the shepherd abandon his flock." He is taken to Persia, and Shāpūr orders him to accept the religion of the Magi. Zuit' prefers death and is beheaded. P'awstos does not say that Zuit' was a Jew and that in the days of Gregory the Illuminator and Trdat III, i. e., as a result of the official Christianization of Armenia in the early 4th century, the Jews of Artašat and Vałaršapat had come to believe in Christ.

There is information in Agat'angełos (§ 781) about the conversion of the pagan priests of the goddess Anahit's temple in Artašat. That sanctuary was ruined and "the (temple's) property and servants with the pagan

[151] Cf. Moses Khorenats'i, p. 293-294 and notes 7-9.
[152] For Jews in Isfahan, see Marquart, *Erānšahr*, S. 29.

priests and their lands and territories" were "devoted to the church's service." However, Agat'angełos knows nothing about Jews converted to Christianity.

Thus, once again, we are dealing with evidence found only in Movsēs' book and neither confirmable nor refutable based on other available sources. It cannot be excluded that there were Christianized Jews in Armenia, but, due to the lack of any firm corroborative material, one can merely speculate on the issue.

14. Closing Remarks

Where there Jewish inhabitants in Armenia in the 1st century BC — 5th century AD? In all probability, yes, because there is no reason to doubt what is reported by P'awstos Buzand and Movsēs Xorenac'i. We cannot form any idea about the approximate number of those Jews, but that number seems to have been significant. Furthermore, we should accept that most of them were brought to Armenia by Tigran II: ïhe mass deportations of various peoples, very likely including Jews, in his time are corroborated by Greco-Roman sources. However, the mention of the high priest Hyrcanus and other Jews coming with him to Armenia permits us to infer that in the days of Artawazd II, too, a certain number of Jews became residents of Armenian cities. Given the great numbers of the Jewish settlers indicated by Buzand, we should conjecture that "Jews" (*Հրեայք*) in Armenian tradition, as elsewhere, meant not only the ethnos but also "sympathizers of the Jewish religion," "God-fearers," and proselytes.

We cannot be certain about the Jewish origin of the Bagratids or Amatunis, but, when dealing with Movsēs' stories about them, we should note, as relevant to our immediate concern, the following aspect of the many references to *Հրեայք* in Xorenac'i's *History of Armenia*. Movsēs appears to be an expert in Jewish matters. He compares the death of Bagarat's two sons with the martyrdom of Hananiah and Eleazar, he knows that Jews do not eat the meat of pagan sacrifices or pork, that they avoid any activities (in particular, they do not hunt or war) on the Sabbath, and that the custom of circumcision is strictly observed by them. He could have been familiar with all this from the Bible, but the fact that he speaks so much about the Jews and their habits might suggest that in the time of Xorenac'i the "Jewish factor," i. e., the presence of Jews and their influence in various spheres, was quite significant in Armenia. Hence, the conclusion would be that even after the captivity

of tens of thousands of Jews in 468/9 by the Persians, many of them continued living in Armenia at least until the end of the 5th century AD. Moreover, in later sources, both Armenian and foreign, there is evidence about Jewish inhabitants in Armenia in the Middle Ages, the most striking corroboration of their presence being the recently discovered Jewish cemetery, mainly of the 13th century, in the village Ełegis of the Vayoc' Jor district of the Republic of Armenia[153].

Institute of Medieval Manuscripts (Matenadaran), Mashtots Ave. 53, 0009 Erevan, Armenia
aramto@web.am
aram_topchyan@yahoo.com

ARAM TOPCHYAN

Abstract — The first Armenian literary source to mention Jews in Armenia in the *History* ascribed to P'awstos Buzard (5th c.). The long passage which refers to multitudes of Jewish families concerns the invasion of the country by Persian troop circa 368/9, when almost all significant Armenian cities were ruined, and their inhabitants, exclusively "Armenians and Jews", were taken to Persia. Though P'awstos' information should not be accepted at face value, it is clear that if the Jewish settlement in Armenia were not substantial, Buzand would not have mentioned it at all. One should also suppose that the Armenian word *Hreay* means both "Jew" and "Judaizer". P'awstos says those Jews had been brought to Armenia from Palestine by the Armenian king Tigran II. Greco-Roman sources, too, though in the relevant passages they do not refer to "3Jews", seem to corroborate that fact. Furthermore, it seems that, even after 368/9, a considerabke number of Jews continued living in Armenia. There is evidence in later sources, both Armenian and foreign, about Jewish inhabitants in Armenia in the Middle Ages. The most striking corroboration of the presence of Jews in medieval Armenia is the recently discovered Jewish cemetery, mainly of the 13th century, in the village Ełegis of the Vayoc' Jor district of the Republic of Armenia.

[153] See D. AMIT and M.E. STONE, *Report of the Survey of a Medieval Jewish Cemetery in Eghegis, Vayots Dzor Region, Armenia*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies* LIII, No. 1 (Spring 2002), p. 66-106, and *eidem*, *The Second and Third Seasons of Research at the Medieval Jewish Cemetery in Eghegis, Vayots Dzor Region, Armenia*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies* LVII, No. 1 (Spring 2006), p. 99-135.

تاریخ کشتار ارمنیان به دست ترکان
بخش ۲

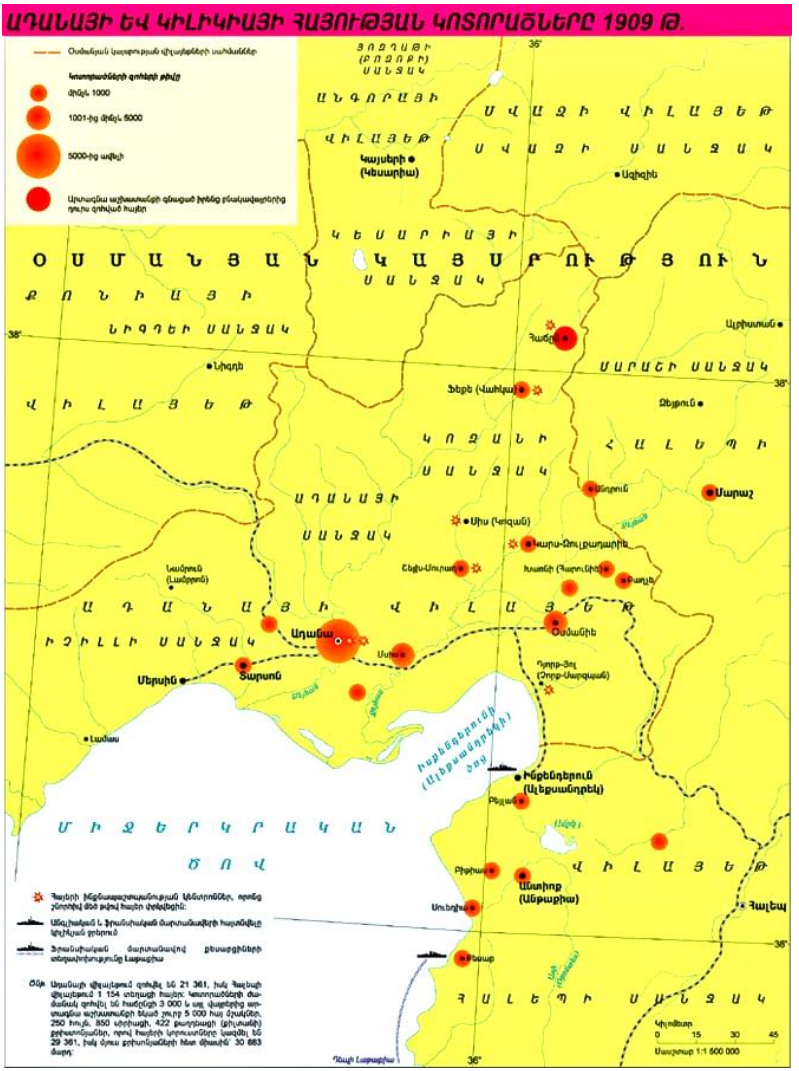
دکتر ادیک باغداساریان

کشتار ارمنیان در آدانا

پس از تسلط ترکان جوان برحکومت ترکیه در سال ۱۹۰۸، ترکان فشارهای ملی را تشدید کردند. آنها شوونیسم افراطی را در راس سیاست حکومتی خود قرار دادند. در واقع ترکان جوان وارث طبیعی سیاست های ارمنی ستیزی و قتل و کشتار سلطان عبدالحمید بودند. آنها با تحکم حکومت خود در صدد اجرای برنامه انهدام ارمنیان کیلیکیه (واقع در ساحل مدیترانه) بر آمدند.

محله ارمنی نشین ویران شده آدانا

در اوایل سده ۲۰ استان آدانا ۴۰۰،۰۰۰ نفر جمعیت داشت و از ۶۰ هزار سکنه آدانا ۲۲ هزار نفر ارمنی بودند. آنها پیشروان اقتصاد استان محسوب می شدند. لذا اولین ضربه به ارمنیان آدانا وارد شد که از نظر رفاه و زندگی آرام شاخص بود. مقامات حکومتی در پی تصرف مال و مایملک ارمنیان و پایان دادن به تمایلات ملی آنان بودند.



محل های قتل عام ارمنیان در کیلیکیه

روز اول ماه آوریل ۱۹۰۹ ترکها به دستور مقامات آدانا به محله های ارمنی نشین شهر حمله کردند و به چپاول و کشتار ارمنیان پرداختند. قربانیان این رویداد اساساً زنان، کودکان و پیرها بودند. این کشتار و جنایت سه روز ادامه یافت.

یک صحنه از کشتار ارمنیان آدانا

کشتارها تنها به شهر آدانا محدود نشدند، کشتارهایی نیز در سایر مناطق ارمنی نشین کیلیکیه رخ داد.

در برخی از نواحی ارمنیان به دفاع از خود می پردازند و به همین علت نیز گروهی توانستند جان سالم بدر ببرند.

پس از اولین کشتار، مقامات با نیرنگ اسلحه ارمنیان را جمع آوری کرده و آنان را خلع سالح کردند. لذا ترکان بار دیگر کشتار ارمنیان را ادامه دادند. لشکریان عثمانی نیز به آنان کمک می کردند. بیش از ۱۵ هزار نفر از ارمنیان قربانی شدند.

یکی از محله های ویران شده آدانا

ارمنیان نیز در برخی نواحی دست به اقدامات دفاعی زدند و تا حدی توانستند جان بخشی از مردم را نجات دهند. با این حال ترکها ۳۰،۰۰۰ ارمنی را سلاخی کردند و خسارات مالی وارد شده به ارمنیان ولایت آدانا به ۲۰ میلیون لیره ترک بالغ می گردد[۱].

[۱] – تاریخ ارمنستان. جلد ۶. ص ۵۱۹–۵۰۰.

جلسه محرمانه ترکان جوان در سالونیک برای انهدام کامل ارمنیان

تاریخ ۱۰ ماه اوت ۱۹۱۰

ماده۱- به استناد ماده سوم و چهارم اساسنامه حزب ترکان جوان، فعالیت همه شرکت ها و انجمن های ارمنی را موقوف و افراد مخالف دولت اتحاد و ترقی را دستگیر و به استان های موصل و بغداد بفرستید و آنان در مسیر و یا جاهای دیگر به قتل برسانید.

ماده ۲- جمع آوری هر گونه سلاح از میان ارمنیان

ماده ۳- با توسل به شیوه های مناسب و اختصاصی، آیین اسلام را در جاهایی چون وان، ارزنجان و آدابازار تحمیل شود، جاهایی که ارمنیان اعتماد مسلمانان را جلب کرده اند و همانند رویدادهایی تدارک دیده شود که روسیه در باکو اجرا کرد (منظور کشتار ارمنیان باکو در سال ۱۹۰۵ است).

ماده ۴- کار انهدام در استان های ارزروم، وان، العزیز، بیتلیس به مردم سپرده شود و ارتش و نیروهای انتظامی را ظاهراً برای توقف کشتارها بکار گرفته شوند. اما در جاهایی چون آدانا، بروسا، نیکومدیا و ازمیر به مسلمانان کمک نظامی داده شود.

ماده ۵- کار انهدام بویژه روی مردانی که کمتر از ۵۰ سن دارند و آموزگاران اعمال شود. دختران و کودکان باید مسلمان شوند.

ماده ۶- خانواده افرادی که اقدام به فرار می کنند کلاً منهدم شود و اقداماتی صورت گیرد که ارتباط آنان با کشور کاملاً قطع شود.

ماده ۷- به بهانه جاسوسی، همه کارمندان ارمنی دولت از مقامشان معزول و اخراج شوند.

ماده ۸- انهدام کامل آنان که در ارتش خدمت می کنند. (ارمنیان)

ماده ۹- کار انهدام در همه جبهه ها بطور همزمان آغاز گردد تا فرصتی برای دفاع باقی نماند.

ماده ۱۰- این حکم باید کاملاً مخفی بماند و تنها میان یکی دو نفر حفظ شود.

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این طرح وحشیانه برای **رنه پینون** آشکار شد.او در ســـال ۱۹۱۳ مقاله ای در پاریس تحت عنوان **L' Europe et la jeune Turque** (اروپا و ترکان جوان) منتشر کرده بود. این سند در ۱۱ ژوئن ۱۹۶۵ ترجمه و در روزنامه «آزداک» منتشر شده است (نوش دارو بعد از مرگ سهراب - ا. گ.)

مشخص نیست که چرا ارمنیان از این جلسه و حکم مخفی هیچ آگاهی نداشتند. احتمالاً سران حزب داشناک که با ترکان جوان پیمان همکاری بسته بودند (۱۹۰۹) هنوز به این توافقنامه اطمینان داشتند.

تازه "مشروطیت" برقرار شده بود. هنوز جوهر و مهر توافقنامه داشناک و ترکان جوان خشک نشده بود مبنی بر اینکه با نیروهای متحد باعث پیشرفت و ترقی کشور عثمانی گردند و این عبارت که داشناک ها نباید سخن از استقلال می زدند، هنوز فراموش نشده بود.

حزب داشناک تا سال ۱۹۱۴ به مواد توافقنامه خود با ترکان جوان پایبند بود و به آن اعتماد می کرد علی رغم اینکه در سال ۱۹۰۸ در مجلس شورای عثمانی و در نشست های شورای ملی ارمنی فشارها و وحشیگری هایی اعمال شده بود. چنان که مشخص شده است گریگور زهراب نماینده ارمنیان در مجلس ترکیه مسئله خلع سلاح را مطرح کرده بود اما ترکها همواره دست درازی های خود را انکار می کردند.

این سند در میان بسیاری از اسناد دیگر پاسخ قاطع و تعیین کننده ای به سیاست امتناع ترکها برای پذیرش قتل عام ارمنیان محسوب می شود[۱].

[۱] - استپان و کارو بوغوسیان، ترکها در باره ترکها. ایروان: ۲۰۰۰.